GEORGE
DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE

VOL. I.

Emery Walker Ph. Sc.

H. R. H. Prince George at the age of 18

from a mezzotint after a painting by John Lucas

GEORGE
DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE

A Memoir of his Private Life

BASED ON THE JOURNALS AND CORRESPONDENCE
OF HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS.

EDITED BY

EDGAR SHEPPARD, C.V.O., D.D.

SUB-DEAN OF HIS MAJESTY'S CHAPELS ROYAL

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DEDICATED

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TO

HIS MAJESTY THE KING

PREFACE

FEW words are needed to introduce to the public this Memoir of the Duke of Cambridge. The publication, some twelve months ago, of Colonel Willoughby Verner's 'Military Life of H.R.H. George Duke of Cambridge' threw a flood of white light upon the long connexion of His Royal Highness with the Army, and upon the services which he rendered to the nation as Commander-in-Chief. It is, however, no disparagement of Colonel Verner's admirable work, but rather a tribute to the singleness of purpose with which he carried out his labours, to say that he has left much of the Duke's life-story still to be told. With all his devotion to the Army and his keen enthusiasm for his military duties, His Royal Highness was always something more than a soldier. Endowed by temperament with no small measure of the political sense, the Duke found himself debarred by the circumstances of his birth and position from descending into the arena of party politics. The activities thus checked, however, found outlet in countless other directions. As a Prince of the Royal House standing in close proximity to the Throne, he was called upon in the natural order of things to take a prominent part in the ceremonial life of the nation, and to give his name and support to public institutions and charities of

every kind. Further, the confidence which the late Queen Victoria had learned to repose in his unfailing tact and discretion led Her Majesty to delegate to the Duke, especially in the period which followed the lamented death of the Prince Consort, many public duties which she found herself unable to perform, and to send him upon not a few missions abroad, which, though they might be ceremonial in appearance, were often in reality diplomatic errands of no small delicacy. Upon this side of His Royal Highness's activity, as well as upon the details of his private life, Colonel Verner has naturally been silent, and it is to fill in the spaces thus left vacant that the present volumes are published.

Fortunately the materials for such a Memoir were ready to hand in the Duke's journals and papers. When a mere boy Prince George of Cambridge was persuaded by his tutor, Mr. Wood, to record day by day his doings and his impressions of men and things. The diary, begun mainly as an intellectual exercise and a stern duty, was continued in after-life as a labour of love, and, no matter how crowded the hours might be, space was always found at the conclusion of the day (often, it is to be feared, it was 'At the midnight in the silence of the sleep-time') for the writing up of the journal. The Duke himself, it should at once be stated, never had the slightest idea that he was writing for other eyes than his own. Indeed, as an autobiography, the diary may be said to win its chiefest merit from the complete absence of self-consciousness that it displays in every line. Tricked out with no literary artifices and pseudo-philosophical reflections, it is the simple record of a strenuous life spent in the service of the country, and as such must take its place in the category of unpremeditated art. In preparing the diary and correspondence for the press my aim has been to allow the Duke to tell his own story in his own words without any extraneous

assistance. Where I have added to the record it has been to bridge a gulf, to explain what might otherwise have been obscure, and to provide, when possible, for the continuity of the story. If I have fallen short of the ideal which originally I set before myself of confining the Memoir to the public and private as distinct from the military life of the Duke, I must plead in extenuation that no man's life is lived in water-tight compartments, and that in the case of the Duke of Cambridge the nexus between the different sides of his activity was so intricate as practically to defy any nice system of dissection.

So much, then, for the scope of the Memoir. It only remains for me to express my obligation to those who have assisted me in my task. And here I must say frankly and immediately that I have incurred a debt which I can only acknowledge and cannot hope adequately to discharge.

Without the permission of the King, who has been graciously pleased to accept the dedication of this Memoir, the diary could not, of course, have been given to the world. Not only did His Majesty sanction its publication, but he consented also to put into my hands the letters which the late Queen Victoria of blessed memory addressed to the Duke of Cambridge throughout a period of upwards of sixty years, together with other correspondence which passed between the Duke and various members of the Royal Family. But my indebtedness to His Majesty does not end there. In spite of the insistent claims upon his time he has ever been ready to give me the benefit of his ripe knowledge, and to pass final judgment in cases which I have not felt myself competent to decide. For all this I would ask His Majesty to accept the assurance of my humble duty and heartfelt gratitude.

To the Prince of Wales I have appealed for advice from time to time, and have never appealed in vain.

Throughout the long months in which I have been engaged upon the Memoir the Princess of Wales has taken the most kindly interest in my task, and has helped me in a hundred ways. In the midst of a life full of pressing engagements Her Royal Highness has found time to read all the proofs, to correct many errors, and to offer innumerable helpful suggestions. Many of the notes are the outcome of her knowledge, and without her assistance much of the Memoir that deals with the Duke's private life would have been impossible.

The Grand Duchess Dowager of Mecklenburg-Strelitz also has read a large proportion of the proofs, especially of the first volume, and has supplied many of the notes in the earlier portion of the work. For the details of Prince George's boyhood I am indebted almost entirely to Her Royal Highness. The Grand Duchess has also sent me pictures and photographs, which I could not have obtained except for her gracious kindness.

The Duke of Connaught has very kindly allowed me to print the letter which he wrote to the Duke of Cambridge when His Royal Highness retired from the post of Commander-in-Chief in 1895.

The Duke of Teck has given me much valuable assistance with the subject matter of the Memoir, and also with the illustrations.

To the family of the Duke of Cambridge, Colonel George FitzGeorge, Admiral Sir Adolphus FitzGeorge, and Colonel Sir Augustus FitzGeorge, my sincere thanks are due for their great kindness in entrusting the diary and papers of His Royal Highness to my keeping for the purpose of the Memoir. They have also given me invaluable help with the illustrations.

Lady Geraldine Somerset has been indefatigable in contributing to the completeness of a work which she ardently desired to see published. As Lady-in-Waiting

for so many years to the Duchess of Cambridge she brought to the task a large knowledge of the Duke's devotion to his mother, and she has given most useful aid in other directions, especially by furnishing me with translations of many letters and documents written in German.

The chapter on the Duke's association with Christ's Hospital has been written for me by the Rev. E. H. Pearce, Vicar of Christ Church, Newgate Street. As a scholar, a governor, and the historian of the foundation, he is entitled to speak on the subject with peculiar authority. My debt to Mr. Pearce has been increased by his kindness in reading the proofs of this Memoir.

The list of others who have helped me in various ways is a long one, but I must mention by name the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador, the staff of the German Embassy, the Duke of Wellington, the Duke of Abercorn, the Earl of Clarendon, Viscount Esher, Viscount Althorp, Sir Eric Barrington, and the staff of the Foreign Office; Lord Knollys, who has been most kind and helpful in many ways; Lord Burnham; Colonel Sir Arthur Davidson, who from his intimate acquaintance with His Royal Highness has rendered to me much valuable assistance; General Sir Martin Dillon, Sir George Wombwell, Major-General Sir Arthur Ellis, the Honble. Sydney Holland, Lt.-Col. Sir Fleetwood Edwards, General Sir Albert Williams, Sir C. Kinloch Cooke, General G. H. Moncrieff, Mrs. Brodie of Brodie, Mr. Harvey, Mr. Newton, Colonel Willoughby Verner, Colonel Harris, Colonel Young, secretary of the Royal Patriotic Fund; Captain Harold Walker, 1st Life Guards; Captain J. C. Brinton, 2nd Life Guards; Sir Maurice Holtzmann, Professor A. Tien, Mr. Mynott (Librarian of the Oxford and Cambridge Club), Mr. V. W. Baddeley and Mr. R. Skinner (both of the Admiralty), Mr. H. L. Hertslet, M.V.O. (of the Lord Chamberlain's office), Lady Constance Leslie, Lady Blanche Haygarth, and the Honble. Harriet Phipps.

The eyes of some of those who have provided assistance are, alas! closed for ever, and cannot see this record of my indebtedness. Of these I would especially make mention of the late General Bateson, the late Captain Edmond St. John Mildmay, and the late Mr. Henry Hall, the Duke's confidential servant and faithful valet.

The proprietors of 'The Times' have most courteously allowed me to avail myself of their reports of the speeches of the Duke of Cambridge, and of those made in the Houses of Parliament at the time of His Royal Highness's death. For permission to use the reports of the Duke's early speeches in the House of Lords I am indebted to the kindness of the proprietors of 'Hansard.'

My special and most grateful thanks are due to my friend and *collaborateur* Mr. G. Murray Brumwell (Trinity College, Oxford), who has been unceasing in his efforts to render me all possible service in the compilation of this Memoir. His invaluable advice and assistance have been of the very greatest service to me, and I feel that without this help, which has been so freely given, I could not have brought matters to—as I hope—so satisfactory an issue.

Let me say, in conclusion, that if this Memoir avail to set the Duke's life in a clearer, truer perspective, if it succeed in dispelling the mists of rumour and unreality which inevitably gather around the figure of any one who has stood long and prominently in the public gaze, the object for which it has been compiled will have been achieved, and the labour involved in preparing it will have been well repaid.

The spelling of proper names and places is that adopted by the Duke in the text of the diary.

EDGAR SHEPPARD.

ST. JAMES'S PALACE, S.W.:
September 1906.

CONTENTS

OF

THE FIRST VOLUME

CHAPTER I

EARLY LIFE

PAGE

Prince Adolphus Frederick in Hanover—Created Duke of Cambridge —Troublous times in Hanover—The Duke made Governor-General—Character and marriage—Birth of Prince George—Baptism—Illness—Early education—The Rev. J. R. Wood—Prince George's first diary—Removal to England—Parting from his mother—Letters from the Duchess—The diary again—Baptism of Princess Mary—Self-criticism—Burning of the Houses of Parliament—Political changes—Death of the Duke of Gloucester—Serious thoughts 1

CHAPTER II

EARLY LIFE (*continued*)

1835–1837

Self-examination—Birthdays to be remembered—Preparation for Confirmation—The Duke and Duchess of Cambridge arrive in England—Love of music—Racing at Epsom—Princess Augusta's birthday—Confirmation of Princess Victoria—And of Prince George—Letter to his grandfather—Order of the Garter—Illness of the Duchess of Cambridge—Approaching return to Hanover —Duke of Wellington and Prince George's education—First public ceremony—Return to Hanover—Visit to Berlin—A grandfather's anxiety—Death of William IV.—Letter from Mr. Wood —The Queen on her accession—Return to England—Continental tour 20

CHAPTER III

GIBRALTAR LIFE AND TOURS

1838–1839

PAGE

The year reviewed—St. Leonard's—The Duke of Cambridge as musician—The Canadian insurrection—Nineteenth birthday—Visit to St. Paul's School—Anniversary of Waterloo—Coronation of Queen Victoria—Removal to Kew—Departure for Gibraltar—Meeting with the King and Queen of Spain—Arrival at Gibraltar—Military duties—Letters from the Duke of Cambridge — Illness — A disappointment — Twentieth birthday — Departure from Gibraltar—Malta—Trips and inspections—Off to Corfu—News from home—Country festivities—Pleasant excursions—Off again—Nicopolis—Excavations—Visit to Delphi—Corinth—Athens—The political situation at home—The Acropolis visited—Letter from the Duke of Cambridge 46

CHAPTER IV

DUBLIN

1839–1850

England once more—First railway journey—The Queen's marriage—Letters from the Duke of Wellington—From the Prince Consort—Arrival in Dublin—Famine—M. Soyer's soup kitchen—The revolutionary movement — Anxiety in Ireland — Chartism — England as an example to the world—The arrest of Smith O'Brien—The Queen's visit to Ireland—Cholera in Dublin—Louis Napoleon—Death of Queen Adelaide—From son to father—Absurd rumours from Greece—Church and State 78

CHAPTER V

DEATH OF FATHER AND SUCCESSION

1850–1853

Last illness of the Duke of Cambridge—Attack on the Queen—Death of Sir Robert Peel—Days of terrible anxiety—Death and funeral of the Duke—Letters to a member of the Prince's Staff—His father's last days—Plans for the future—Good-bye to Cambridge House—The King of Prussia's sympathy—Position of the Cambridge family—The Duke and the House of Lords—Letter from the Queen—Charitable works—The Duke to his mother—The Great Exhibition—Letter from the Emperor Nicholas—First anniversary of the death of the Duke of Cambridge—Melancholy thoughts—Birthday congratulations—Death of the Duke of Wellington—The Queen's grief—Funeral of the Duke—A French play at Windsor—Visit to Oxford 95

CHAPTER VI

THE CRIMEAN WAR

1854–1856

PAGE

The Eastern question—The war fever—The Duke's anxiety to proceed to the front—Appointed to a division—Good-bye to friends—Departure for Paris—Meeting with the Emperor—Great review on the Champs de Mars—A council of war—Mission to Vienna—Hasty criticisms at home—Prussia the unknown quantity—Hopes of Austrian co-operation—The Duke as special envoy—Lord Clarendon's tribute—Arrival in Vienna—Meeting with the Emperor—Marriage of the Emperor—Political conversations—Austria's sincerity—Success of the Duke's mission—Letters to the Duchess of Gloucester—Praise from the Queen and from Lord Clarendon—The need for caution—In camp near Varna—Lord Raglan's difficulties—Ravages of cholera—Crimea—Battle of the Alma—On the heights near Sevastopol—Battle of Inkerman—The Queen and her brave troops—Her Majesty to the Duke—Storm at Balaklava—The Duke to the Queen on the state of the Army—The Duke of Newcastle's tribute 113

CHAPTER VII

THE CRIMEAN WAR (*continued*)

The Duke's shattered health—Verdict of the Medical Board—Miss Nightingale—Letters from the Queen and Prince Albert—His Royal Highness decides to proceed to Malta—Departure for England—Arrival home, and meeting with the Queen—Speech in the House of Lords—Dinner at the Mansion House—Visit of the Emperor and Empress of the French—The Duke receives the Crimean medal—Governorship of Gibraltar offered and declined—Death of Lord Raglan—Anxiety to return to the front—Visit to Liverpool—Invitation from the Emperor Napoleon—Peace negotiations—Council of War in Paris—The Queen's instructions—Opening of the Council—A suggestion of peace—Presentation of Crimean medals—The Duke's speech—Peace at hand—Return to England—Confirmation of the Princess Royal—Treaty of peace signed—Naval review at Portsmouth—'Clarendon has done his work ably'—Peace celebrations 147

CHAPTER VIII

COMMAND OF THE ARMY—INDIAN MUTINY

1856–1859

Death of Lord Adolphus FitzClarence—Wellington College—Illness and resignation of Lord Hardinge—Entry of the Guards into London—The Duke succeeds Lord Hardinge—Satisfaction of the

PAGE

Duchess of Gloucester—Privy Councillor—The Queen's appreciation of Lord Hardinge—Moustaches in the army—The Chinese war—Mr. Cobden's motion—Lord Palmerston appeals to the country—Death and funeral of the Duchess of Gloucester—Visit to Birmingham—The Indian Mutiny—Visit of the Emperor Napoleon and the Empress Eugénie—In Paris—The Queen and Indian atrocities—The Duke receives the freedom of the City—'May God grant that Lucknow may still be able to hold out!'—Relief—Marriage of the Princess Royal—Confirmation of the Prince of Wales—Lord Canning's proclamation—Royal visit to Cherbourg—The Prince of Wales's birthday 174

CHAPTER IX

THE AMERICAN WAR CLOUD—ILLNESS AND DEATH OF THE PRINCE CONSORT

1859–1862

The Duke and the Prince of Wales—Opening of Wellington College—The war of Italian liberation—The vote of thanks to the Indian Army—Speech by His Royal Highness—Death of Baron Knesebeck—Family gathering at Rumpenheim—Removal to Gloucester House—Visit to the Prince of Wales at Oxford—Offer of colonelcy of Coldstream Guards—Attitude towards the Volunteers—The China expedition—Death of the Duchess of Kent—Forty-second birthday — Life at Rumpenheim — Prussian manœuvres at Brühl—Letter from the Queen on the death of the King of Portugal—American war cloud—Seizure of the Southern Commissioners—Illness and death of the Prince Consort—The last hours—Letters to His Royal Highness from Sir Charles Phipps—Illness of the Duke—The American peril—Prince of Wales starts for the East 203

CHAPTER X

PUBLIC DUTIES FOR THE QUEEN—MARRIAGE OF THE PRINCE OF WALES—HOLSTEIN TROUBLES

1862–1866

International Exhibition—Opening by His Royal Highness on behalf of the Queen—Return of the Prince of Wales—Marriage of Princess Alice—A *fête* at Woolwich—Betrothal of the Prince of Wales—The Queen's delight—The cession of the Ionian Islands—Marriage of the Prince of Wales—Wedding festivities—Mr. Gladstone and charitable property—The Congress of Frankfort—His Royal Highness's impressions—Visits and interviews—The Schleswig-Holstein question—Birth of Prince Albert Victor—First shots exchanged between Prussians and Danes—Successes by the allies

PAGE

—Garibaldi's entry into London—The 'Garibaldi fever'—Fall of Dybböl—A Danish success—Prince of Wales and the Literary Fund—The Duke at Cambridge—Lord Russell's declaration of neutrality—General Todleben in England—Dines at Gloucester House—Baptism of Prince George of Wales—Unveiling of statue of the Prince Consort at Coburg—Lord Palmerston's funeral—Death of King Leopold—His Royal Highness starts for Brussels—Funeral of Queen Marie Amélie 228

CHAPTER XI

MARRIAGE OF PRINCESS MARY—HANOVER'S FATE—TRAVELS AT HOME AND ABROAD

1866–1869

Betrothal and marriage of the Princess Mary—The Queen's promise to attend the ceremony—Austria and Prussia at war—The fate of Hanover—The battle of Königgrätz—The Duke and the policy of non-intervention—Annexation of Hanover announced—Meeting between His Royal Highness and the King of Hanover—What the war involved for the Duke's family—The Order of the Elephant—Walmer Castle revisited—Birth of Princess Victoria Mary of Teck—Paris Exhibition—Death of the Emperor Maximilian—Arrival of the Sultan of Turkey—Ceremonies in his honour—A gift of Arab horses—Baptism of Princess May—Funeral of the Landgrave of Hesse—To Preston to open the new Town Hall—To Ireland with the Prince and Princess of Wales—The fall of Magdala—The Newspaper Press Fund—Her Majesty and the pipers of the Scots Fusilier Guards—Illness of Princess May—Offer of colonelcy-in-chief of 60th Rifles—Fiftieth birthday . . 257

CHAPTER XII

FRANCE'S DARK HOUR

1870–1871

Crowded hours—The Queen and the death of General Grey—Loss of the *Captain*—Outbreak of the Franco-German war—Defeat of Marshal MacMahon—The news in Paris—Further German successes—Sedan—The Third Republic—Meeting with the Empress Eugénie at Chislehurst—Surrender of Metz—Russia and the Black Sea—Death of Lord Frederick Paulet—Bombardment of Paris begins—The last sortie—Capitulation of the city—Mr. Trevelyan's motion in the House of Commons—Terms of peace—'Really fearful'—Prussians enter Paris—The Red Republicans—Marriage of Princess Louise—Visit to Emperor Napoleon at Chislehurst—Queen's birthday wishes—Opening of the Albert Hall—The second siege of Paris—Accident to Prince Arthur—

PAGE

Paris and the Communists—His Royal Highness leaves for Germany—Fortnight's military operations at Aldershot—Removal of Horse Guards to War Office—'A sad change'—General Forster's resignation of the post of Military Secretary . . . 283

CHAPTER XIII

ILLNESS OF THE PRINCE OF WALES

1871–1872

Anxious letters from Sandringham—The crisis reached—The Duke obtains leave to go to Sandringham—A night of anxiety—A nation in suspense—Dawning hopes—Daily bulletins to the Duchess of Cambridge—The Princess of Wales's courage—Slow return of the Prince to health—The Duke once more at Sandringham—Received by the Prince—The great Thanksgiving service at St. Paul's—The Queen's fears—A great national success—The Prince's illness and the Republicans 301

Erratum

Page 104, line 11, *for* receiving *read* reviewing.

ILLUSTRATIONS

IN

THE FIRST VOLUME

PHOTOGRAVURE PLATES

H.R.H. PRINCE GEORGE OF CAMBRIDGE AT THE AGE OF 18 . . . . . *Frontispiece*

From a Mezzotint after a Painting by John Lucas.

H.R.H. PRINCESS VICTORIA . . . . . *To face p.* 100

H.R.H. PRINCE GEORGE OF CAMBRIDGE (signed in 1891) ,, 198

From a Lithograph.

HALF-TONE AND LINE ILLUSTRATIONS

EXTRACT FROM DIARY (1832) . . . . . ,, 11

THE PALACE AT HANOVER, WHERE PRINCE GEORGE WAS BORN. . . . . ,, 22

H.R.H. ADOLPHUS FREDERICK, DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE, K.G. . . . . ,, 58

From a Portrait by Sir W. Beechey, R.A., in the possession of Rear-Admiral Sir Adolphus FitzGeorge, K.C.V.O.

H.R.H. ADOLPHUS FREDERICK, DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE, K.G. . . . . ,, 96

From a Drawing made in 1846 by James R. Swinton, in the possession of Rear-Admiral Sir Adolphus FitzGeorge, K.C.V.O.

H.R.H. PRINCE GEORGE OF CAMBRIDGE . . . ,, 122

From a Painting in the possession of Rear-Admiral Sir Adolphus FitzGeorge, K.C.V.O.

THE STORM IN BALAKLAVA BAY ON 14th NOVEMBER, 1854. H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge was on board H.M. steam frigate *Retribution* (Captain the Hon. James Drummond) . . . . . ,, 142

From an Engraving after a Painting by Lieut. Montague O'Reilly, R.N.

H.M. KING WILLIAM IV. AS DUKE OF CLARENCE . *To face p.* 170
From a Painting by Hoppner at Windsor Castle.

H.M. QUEEN ADELAIDE . . . . . ,, 230
From a Painting by Winterhalter at Buckingham Palace.

H.R.H. PRINCESS MARY, DUCHESS OF TECK . . ,, 258
From a Water-colour Drawing by James R. Swinton at Marlborough House.

THE CHILDREN OF KING GEORGE III.: PRINCE ERNEST AUGUSTUS (DUKE OF CUMBERLAND), PRINCE AUGUSTUS FREDERICK (DUKE OF SUSSEX), PRINCE ADOLPHUS FREDERICK (DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE), PRINCESS AUGUSTA SOPHIA, PRINCESS ELIZABETH (LANDGRAVINE OF HESSE), PRINCESS MARY (DUCHESS OF GLOUCESTER) . . . . . ,, 286
From a Mezzotint by V. Green of the Painting by B. West.

TABLE SHOWING THE DESCENDANTS OF GEORGE II. ,, 5

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THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE

CHAPTER I

EARLY LIFE

Prince Adolphus Frederick in Hanover—Created Duke of Cambridge—Troublous times in Hanover—The Duke made Governor-General—Character and marriage—Birth of Prince George—Baptism—Illness—Early education—The Rev. J. R. Wood—Prince George's first diary—Removal to England—Parting from his mother—Letters from the Duchess—The diary again—Baptism of Princess Mary—Self-criticism—Burning of the Houses of Parliament—Political changes—Death of the Duke of Gloucester—Serious thoughts

PRINCE GEORGE WILLIAM FREDERICK CHARLES OF CAMBRIDGE was born on March 26, 1819, in the Duke of Cambridge's palace, 'the Palais,'[1] at Hanover. His father, Prince Adolphus Frederick, seventh son of King George III., had made his home in Hanover almost continuously since the days when, as a boy of thirteen, he was sent thither with his brothers Ernest[2] and Augustus[3] to learn the German tongue and to prosecute his studies at the University of Göttingen, and his early career was closely linked with the chequered fortunes of the country. Prince Adolphus Frederick embraced the profession of arms, and saw active service in the Flanders campaign of 1793, in which he was wounded, and again in 1794 and 1795, after-

Prince Adolphus Frederick

[1] Also called Cambridge House.

[2] Duke of Cumberland, afterwards King of Hanover (fourth son of George III.).

[3] Duke of Sussex (fifth son of George III.).

wards returning to Hanover to complete his interrupted studies.

Created Duke of Cambridge

In 1801, when he was twenty-seven years of age, the dukedom of Cambridge was revived and conferred upon Prince Adolphus, together with the earldom of Tipperary and the barony of Culloden. When, in the year 1803, Hanover was invested by a French corps, the Duke was transferred to the British Service. At the head of the German Legion raised for the relief of Hanover, however, he returned once more to Hanover. But the iron of Napoleon's tyranny had not yet entered into the soul of Europe, and as the people of Hanover appeared anything but ready to avail themselves of the support thus offered, the Duke returned to England, where he assumed command of the Home District.

The years that followed were times of stress for Hanover. From Napoleon the Prussians received temporary possession of the country in 1806, but in the following year a part of it was annexed to the kingdom of Westphalia, created by Napoleon, and the remaining portion was added to Westphalia in 1810. By this time the inhabitants had learned in the hard school of adversity the true meaning of French predominance, and when the final struggle with Napoleon was entered upon they flung themselves into it with a fierceness and determination begotten of years of suffering. The victories of the Coalition against Napoleon restored Hanover to England, and the Duke of Cambridge returned to the country as commander of the forces in 1813. Two years later, at the Congress of Vienna, George III., as Elector, demanded that the Electorate should be raised to the dignity of a kingdom. The demand was granted, and the Duke of Cambridge became Governor-General of Hanover.

Character

In person tall and finely formed, with a fair complexion and regular features, the Duke displayed in character

many of those sterling qualities which were afterwards shown so conspicuously by his son. With a keen enthusiasm and a high capacity for the duties of the military profession he combined a love of the beautiful in music and the arts, and he delighted to gather round himself men of cultivated tastes and artistic attainments. A deep religious vein ran through his character, and he was a staunch Churchman of the old school, rigid in his observance of the Sabbath and regular in his attendance at the services of the Church. That he was no 'chocolate-cream soldier' is shown by the fact that in the campaigns in which he served he shared all the hardships of his men, and, after being wounded and invalided home, returned to the front at the earliest possible opportunity. His engaging manners, his quick sympathy, and his high integrity endeared him to the people of Hanover, and it is more than probable that if he had been able to order the affairs of the country according to his wishes, the history of the kingdom would have been written in very different characters. Unfortunately, the shadow rather than the substance of authority was his; for Count Münster virtually ruled the country from London, and his tendencies were entirely reactionary. Hanover at this period was at the cross-roads. The devastating tide of war which had passed over the kingdom had indeed receded, but it had left behind it the seeds of political discontent. French influence had awakened liberal thought and a desire for greater freedom, and the people of Hanover, who had done and suffered so much for their sovereign and their country, demanded in return a more generous treatment at the hands of their ruler. In the Duke of Cambridge they had a staunch ally, but unfortunately his hands were tied.

Marriage

In 1817 Princess Charlotte died, and it became imperative that the King's sons should marry. The Duke of Cambridge chose as his bride Princess Augusta, daughter

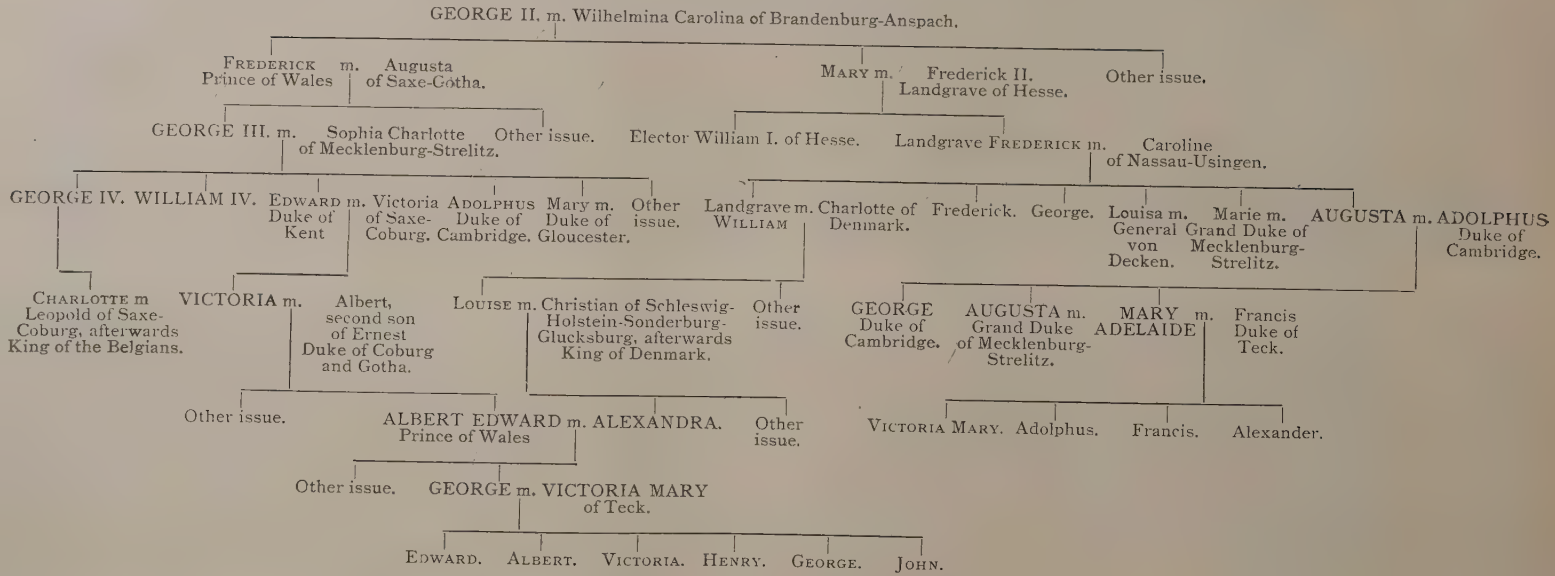
of the Landgrave Frederick of Hesse-Cassel by his marriage with Princess Caroline of Nassau-Usingen. The story of the Duke's courtship is somewhat remarkable. He had been commissioned by his brother the Duke of Clarence, afterwards William IV., to seek out a bride for him, and in his travels, at the Court of the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, he met the Princess Augusta, about whom he wrote home in glowing terms. The Duke of Clarence thereupon suggested that, as he admired her so ardently, he should marry her himself. This advice the Duke of Cambridge was not slow to follow, and a wife had to be sought elsewhere for the Duke of Clarence. The union was one of esteem and affection on both sides, and was most happy. The wedding took place at Cassel on May 7, 1818, and was also solemnised in England, and after a short stay in this country the Duke and Duchess returned to Hanover, where, in the following March, Prince George was born. Queen Victoria, it must be remembered, was not born until May 24, 1819, and Prince George was therefore, till the time of her birth, the first direct descendant of King George III. The importance of the event is attested by the following declaration, which was sent by Mr. Rose, His Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of Berlin, to Viscount Castlereagh,[1] in a dispatch dated Hanover, March 26, 1819:

1819
Birth of Prince George

We the undersigned, His Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, K.G., &c., &c., &c., the Right Honorable John Earl of Mayo, one of His Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council for that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland, and the Right Honorable George Henry Rose, one of His Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council, His Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of Berlin, specially instructed to attend the con-

[1] Foreign Secretary.

TABLE SHOWING THE DESCENDANTS OF GEORGE II.


GEORGE II. m. Wilhelmina Carolina of Brandenburg-Anspach.
FREDERICK Prince of Wales m. Augusta of Saxe-Gotha.
MARY m. Frederick II. Landgrave of Hesse.
Other issue.
GEORGE III. m. Sophia Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz.
Other issue.
Elector William I. of Hesse.
Landgrave FREDERICK m. Caroline of Nassau-Usingen.
GEORGE IV.
WILLIAM IV.
EDWARD Duke of Kent m. Victoria of Saxe-Coburg.
ADOLPHUS Duke of Cambridge.
Mary m. Duke of Gloucester.
Other issue.
Landgrave WILLIAM m. Charlotte of Denmark.
Frederick.
George.
Louisa m. General von Decken.
Marie m. Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz.
AUGUSTA m. ADOLPHUS Duke of Cambridge.
CHARLOTTE m Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, afterwards King of the Belgians.
VICTORIA m. Albert, second son of Ernest Duke of Coburg and Gotha.
LOUISE m. Christian of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glucksburg, afterwards King of Denmark.
Other issue.
GEORGE Duke of Cambridge.
AUGUSTA m. Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz.
MARY ADELAIDE m. Francis Duke of Teck.
Other issue.
ALBERT EDWARD Prince of Wales m. ALEXANDRA.
Other issue.
VICTORIA MARY.
Adolphus.
Francis.
Alexander.
Other issue.
GEORGE m. VICTORIA MARY of Teck.
EDWARD.
ALBERT.
VICTORIA.
HENRY.
GEORGE.
JOHN.

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finement of Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Cambridge, 1819
do hereby solemnly declare that, having been apprised by His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge at a quarter before one o'clock of the morning of Friday the twenty-sixth day of March in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and nineteen, that Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Cambridge's labor pains had commenced, we repaired forthwith to the room adjoining to that in which Her Royal Highness was to be delivered, in Cambridge House in the City of Hanover, the door between these two rooms remaining open during the whole of our attendance; that having been previously informed by His Royal Highness that Her Royal Highness would be confined in Her Bedroom up one pair of stairs, and that free access must remain from that room to Her Dressingroom immediately contiguous to it, and these rooms having been previously shewn to one of us, the Right Honorable George Henry Rose, the seal of the said Right Honorable George Henry Rose was affixed so as to close it, upon the outside of the outward door of the dressingroom under the directions of His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, who locked the door and gave the key of it to the said Right Honorable George Henry Rose, so that no communication with the bedroom could take place from without, but under Our eyes, we remaining in the room adjoining to the bedroom, and through which all persons entering that bedroom must pass; that sharp labor continued until ten minutes past two o'clock of the morning aforesaid, when Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Cambridge was safely delivered of a male child, whose sex we determined by actual inspection.

Given under our Hands and Seals at Cambridge House, in the City of Hanover at three o'clock of the morning aforesaid, videlicet, of the twenty-sixth day of March of the year of Our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and nineteen.

(Seal) WILLIAM.
(Seal) MAYO.
(Seal) G. H. ROSE.

1819 Prince George's birth was announced in the *London Gazette* of Tuesday, April 6, 1819, in the following terms :

Foreign Office, April 6, 1819.

Extract of a Dispatch from the Right Honorable George Henry Rose, His Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of Berlin, to Viscount Castlereagh, K.G., dated Hanover, March 26, 1819—Received April 6.

Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Cambridge was safely delivered of a male child, at ten minutes past two o'clock this morning, at Cambridge House, in this City. His Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, the Earl of Mayo, and myself attended Her Royal Highness's confinement, and have signed a formal declaration to the above effect.

Her Royal Highness and her child have past the night quite well. He appears to be healthy and well grown.

Baptism Another entry, published in the *London Gazette* of Saturday, May 22, recorded his baptism :

Hanover, May 11, 1819.

The Ceremony of the Baptism of Prince George William Frederick Charles, son of His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, Governor-General of Hanover, and of Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Cambridge, Landgravine and Princess of Hesse, his wife, was performed this day, according to the rites of the Established Church of England, at Cambridge House, by the Reverend John Sanford, Domestic Chaplain to His Royal Highness, in the presence of their Royal Highnesses the Dukes of Clarence and Cambridge : their Serene Highnesses the Landgrave and Landgravine of Hesse, the Princess Louisa of Hesse : and the Princess of Nassau-Usingen : the Earl and Countess of Mayo, the Hanoverian Ministers of State, the Foreign Ministers, the Grand Officers of the Household, and the whole Court.

The sponsors for the young Prince were His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, represented by His Royal

Highness the Duke of Clarence, as proxy : His Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, represented by the Earl of Mayo, and Her Majesty the Queen Dowager of Wurtemberg, represented by the Countess of Mayo. 1819

When about two years old Prince George was carried by his nurses, together with Prince George of Hanover, to see King George IV., who was at the time paying a visit to Hanover. The nurses were called Mrs. Page and Mrs. Ford, and the King, on hearing their names, exclaimed : ' Oh, oh, the Merry Wives of Windsor ! ' 1821–1828

In the pleasant surroundings of the Court of Hanover the Prince grew and prospered, but he did not escape the usual ills to which childhood is heir. When quite a small boy he contracted scarlet fever, and became so dangerously ill that the doctors despaired of his life. His father was at dinner when a message was sent to him that the Prince appeared to be sinking. The Duke was drinking a Rhine wine named Steinberger, and, unable to think of any other means of reviving the boy, he hurried to the sick-room with a glass of this wine and forced the child to drink it. The effect was extraordinary. From that hour the Prince began to mend, and the fever abated, but the effects of the illness left him delicate for some years. Until 1837 Steinberger was always drunk on His Royal Highness's birthday to commemorate his marvellous recovery. Dangerous illness

The Prince's first tutor was the Rev. Henry Harvey, Curate-in-Charge of Ealing, who took up his duties as preceptor to the young Prince in 1825. Finding the work somewhat more arduous and responsible than he had anticipated, Mr. Harvey procured the services of an assistant, a Mr. Welsh. Mr. Welsh's tenure of office, however, did not last long, for he quickly showed signs of great eccentricity, which developed later into madness. One evening the Prince's valet rushed downstairs and announced The Prince's tutors

1828 that he had found Mr. Welsh in the Prince's bedroom kneeling by the side of the bed, and exclaiming in a loud voice that he had been called upon to kill His Royal Highness that night. Mr. Welsh was pronounced by the doctors to be insane, and was removed to a madhouse. He was succeeded by the Rev. John Ryle Wood, who afterwards became the Prince's Chaplain, and ultimately a Canon of Worcester Cathedral. Mr. Wood, who undertook the sole charge of His Royal Highness in 1831, was a strong, upright man and a strict disciplinarian, and he succeeded completely in winning his pupil's confidence and regard. The extent of his influence over Prince George it is difficult rightly to appraise, but it is abundantly clear from the Prince's diary that he played no small part in the moulding of his character.

1828 Æt. 9

At the age of nine Prince George made his first entry in his first diary. It was as follows :

First diary

I have taken Augusta out of bed for the first time on my Birthday.

March 26, 1828.

GEORGE.

1830 Æt. 11

Removal to England

In 1830, when His Royal Highness was eleven years old, it was decided that he should remove from Hanover to England, in order that he might receive an entirely English education. Accordingly, he travelled to England with Mr. Wood, and took up his residence with the King and Queen. This, of course, entailed separation from his parents, who were detained in Hanover by their duties. The parting from her only son was a terrible grief to the Duchess of Cambridge, and when he left Hanover she accompanied him on his way as far as Mayence, where she parted from him and went to Rumpenheim, while he continued his journey with his father. From

Rumpenheim his mother wrote him the following touching letters. The first is dated August 9. 1830 ÆT. 11

Letters from the Duchess of Cambridge

MY PRECIOUS GEORGE,—These are the first words I have to address to you by the help of pen and paper, since it is the first time we have ever been separated. Did I not, my angel boy, well keep my promise to you to make the parting very quick and short? God grant that you have not grieved too much, and had no return of your severe bad headache, like that you had at Mayence, for then you would have sadly needed poor Mama, who knows her George so well and knows best what he needs and likes. Ah! could I but hasten to you every two hours to exchange a couple of words! But that happy time the good God will soon restore to us! Be of bright and good courage, we shall soon meet again. Already three days have passed in which we have not seen each other, thus one slips away after the other, and before long the bright day of our happy reunion will shine for us. This will be a bad day for you, having to cross the sea! I hope the passage will be better than you fear. You must write to me very fully—all details, my dear good George! Also how you like your new home—all, all, everything. I want to know! No secrets from me. *Make* plenty of time to write, it is my only consolation. If you cannot read this, my first letter, get your dear Papa to help you now while he is still with you; *your tutors, I do not wish* should read either my letters to you or yours to me. Give my most friendly regards to Mr. Wood, and tell him I was quite unequal to taking leave of him! The same to Prott. . . . Have you yet been out riding? Tell me all, what your life is. Now adieu, for to-day, my angel. I kiss you in thought. Alas! that I cannot really myself do so.

August 10.—Good morning, my dear good Georgie. By now, I suppose, you have got over the bad sea voyage and are on your way to London. Be always very open and confiding towards the Queen,[1] tell her everything, and all that you wish, very openly and frankly. With the King be

[1] Queen Adelaide, Consort of William IV.

1830 Æt. 11 respectful but not shy and nervous, which makes you appear so quiet and formal. . . . Yesterday we had a quiet day, I was still very tired and exhausted. . . . Now God bless you, my sweet angel, a thousand times. Kisses you

Your most fondly loving Mother,

AUGUSTA.

When you write to me, do so *quite alone*, as your heart dictates, not stiff and formal. God protect you!

During these years of separation the Duchess wrote every day to her son loving little notes containing details of her daily life, and the letters were dispatched to England about once a week. The sorrow of separation was lightened, too, by periodic visits which the Duchess paid to England, visits to which both mother and son looked forward with eager delight. Writing joyously in May 1831 to announce her approaching arrival in England, the Duchess says:

Since I love you so unutterably, my good George, I do not like a single day to pass without my having written you at least a few words, otherwise in the evening it seems to me to have been a lost day. You are now, doubtless, quietly at Windsor. Have you no little garden of your own in which you can work? It would be so healthy for you. Gussy [1] works industriously in hers. My sweet George is now, doubtless, every day thinking as I do how near is coming the beautiful day of our reunion. Mind you manage to come to meet us at Deptford, that I may see you *at once*, and then we can drive up together to London. . . .

1832 Æt. 12 In 1832 Prince George again began the task of keeping a diary, but the effort was not long sustained, for the entries begin on January 7 and end abruptly on March 9. They tell of childish ailments and of visits of other boys

[1] His elder sister, Princess Augusta, now Grand Duchess Dowager of Mecklenburg-Strelitz.

Jan.y 7th 1832 Today I am sorry to say I do not feel I have acted well in many respects. I showed some signs of cowardice on horse back. I had a very bad latin lesson & made many careless mistacks in it. I mean to try all in my power to be better for the future. In shooting through the bullseye in shooting at the target. Finished I sent a drawing for my Aunt Glaucester.

Jan.y 8th Bad headach in the morning, better in the evening.

Jan.y 9 Much better, but not allowed to go out

Jan.y 10th Not much better. Received several letters today.

EXTRACT FROM DIARY (1832).

1832
ÆT. 12

The diary begun again

who came to play with him, but they are noticeable chiefly for the frank recognition of faults and the conscious effort to amend them, which are so characteristic of the earlier diaries. The diary opens at Brighton when the Court was at the Pavilion:

January 7.—To-day I am sorry to say I do not feel I have acted well in many respects. I showed some signs of cowardice on horseback. I had a very bad Latin lesson and made many careless mistacks in it. I mean to try all in my power to be better for the future. I shot through the bull's eye in shooting at the Target. Finished a drawing for my Aunt Gloucester.

February 18.—Played with Dr. Everard's boys. Last French Lesson at Brighton this year. Yesterday Captain Harvey dined with us. Several of the Company left the Pavilion to-day. Behaved rather cowardly once during the ride. This ought not to happen again. I shall do my best to prevent it. *24th.*—Papa's and the Queen's birthday. Holiday. Drawing-room for the first time this year. Dined with the K. and Q. Went to Covent Garden Theatre last night with several persons, and first dined together at six. *27th.*—Went to Drury Lane theater with several other persons.

March 2.—Went to Kew and then came on to Windsor. Mr. Hudson was taken very ill with an inflamation in the stumack. *9th.*—Went out hunting with my cousin. We met at the Magpy on the London road. I am sorry to say I was rather afraid at first, because the horse would not go quietly, but I soon found out how foolish I was and I was hardly at all afraid. We had good sport. Yesterday 2 Eton boys came to see me. Their names were Ward and Compton. We rode together and then played at hocky. During the ride I am afraid I also showed some marks of cowardice. I do hope this will soon be over.

Here the diary suddenly breaks off, and it was not resumed till January 1834, when the Prince was on a visit to his parents in Hanover.

1834 Æt. 14

January 9.—This evening my sister Mary[1] is to be christened. Mr. W.[2] advises me to make a beginning of a diary to-day. I hope I may have resolution to continue it. 10*th*.—Yesterday evening the christening of Mary took place. A most solemn and beautiful ceremony, and the Service was very well performed by Mr. W. The little baby did not cry at all. I signed my name as a witness. 24*th*.—Yesterday evening a great ball was given here. . . . I remarked that the Hanoverians are great eaters of supper. 25*th*.—Though I got up late yesterday I did my lessons after breakfast as usual. First some Cicero to construe, and then I did my German for Mr. Siemson.[3] . . . Monsieur de Wangenheim[4] came here in the course of the morning to mark some things which Papa sold to the King. During the operation M. de Wangenheim showed that he was very particular, and if the slightest thing was wanting he waited till it was found. I don't like this manner at all.

Hanover: Baptism of Princess Mary

February 6.—Yesterday I fear some more bad behaviour showed itself. I have not remembered so many bad days following so soon after each other for some time. This is in a great degree owing to Sunday being bad. Yesterday I was violent, hasty, and indeed might almost say did everything that was wrong. I shall however to-day give myself the greatest pains to behave well. 9*th*.—Did not behave very well in the morning, but better afterwards. A constant desire to chatter which always brings me into trouble. 15*th*.—Yesterday morning Mr. Wood tried if I could construe any part of Homer I had done before, but I could not. He then suggested to me to get it up for Papa's birthday by myself, which I was very angry about at first, and behaved very ill. After some time, however, I determined not to be so foolish, and I began with doing during the course of yesterday 67 lines. 19*th*.—Last night I got rather a disagreeable letter from England. The Queen writes me word I am to return soon after Papa's

[1] His younger sister, Princess Mary Adelaide, afterwards Duchess of Teck.

[2] Mr. Wood.

[3] Librarian of the Royal Library at Hanover.

[4] Oberhofmarschall to the Court at Hanover.

birthday, probably therefore in a fortnight. *21st.*—I believe Mama answered the Queen's letter yesterday by saying I should probably not come over to England till after my birthday. *26th.*—In consequence of Papa's birthday I have been living in so many pleasures that I quite forgot to write my diary. On the 24th, first congratulated Papa and gave him my drawing, then played my music for him with my sister. Then I went to the Exhibition of pictures. On our return dressed for dinner, and dined at my Aunt's at 4. Came home at 7, and after resting a short time got ready for the great ball. At a little before 9 we entered the drawing-rooms, and the whole began with Tableaux, which went off very well. Then the ball commenced, and I stayed till half-past one. *27th.*—I rode out with Mama yesterday for the first time since her confinement. Received a letter from Cocks the day before yesterday, to thank me for having got him entered in the Coldstreams. 1834 ÆT. 14

March 1.—Another month gone by. Have I been diligent enough, or behaved in it as I ought ? I fear that but too often I have not. Chattering one of my chief faults. *4th.*—My most glairing fault now is that I desire to argue with everybody, and then after all I generally am in the wrong. I must now however make up my mind to conquer it. *11th.*—My little sister was vaccinated yesterday. Had a long talk on the origin of this excellent discovery by Dr. Jenner, an English physician. Mr. Wood's sister was among those vaccinated by the discoverer himself. *12th.*—Mr. Wood very angry with me in the morning for my always standing near the stove. He said it was very wrong because Mama as well as he himself had so often told me of it, and on my saying I could not help it, he explained to me the necessity of my conquering myself, because if I could not do it in trifles, I should not be able to do it in much greater things. *13th.*—Yesterday I again fell into that bad fault of mine to form hasty opinions and speak hastily rather than first thinking them over in my mind, and saying my ideas quietly. I am then generally obliged to retract them, which will become a very unfortunate thing hereafter. I must really take great pains to

1834 Æt. 15

avoid this. *27th.*—Had no time to write yesterday as it was my birthday. Made up my mind to behave very well during the next year. Received very many pretty presents from various persons. In the evening a little party was given when we played at lottery. The Jägers [1] were good enough to bring me a 'Fäckel müsick.' [2]

Return to England

After his birthday, on which he made up his mind 'to behave very well during the next year,' Prince George returned to England, and there is a considerable gap in the diary.

April 11.—I fear I have got a very bad habit of going into the drawing-room not straight to the Queen, which is very vulgar and ill-behaved. I likewise, when I have saluted, have gone away and not returned sometimes till I have gone away. These faults must be avoided. 14*th.*—Behaved very ill yesterday morning about bathing, really quite like a baby. 16*th.*—Have not been able until now to write my diary, having been some time on my journey, and the rest being occupied in different ways. Had a very quick and prosperous journey. Slept the first night at Paderborn, second at Hagen, third at Aix-la-Chapelle, fourth at Tirlemont, fifth at Antwerp, sixth at Courtrai, and seventh at Calais. Crossed in a man-of-war steamer, the *Dee*. . . . Was very ill. Went on the same night to Sittingbourne, and next day arrived here [Windsor]. Though *very very* sorry to leave Papa and Mama, and all my other friends, at Hanover, yet very happy to see all my friends here again well and happy.

May 1.—Arrived in London yesterday. Among other things went to be measured and weighed. I am 5 feet 3 inches high and weigh 7 stone 3 pound. 8*th.*—. . . Had a lesson with Mr. Trail [3] and Dr. Küper.[4] Went to the Charterhouse. A very nice school; clean, but some very

[1] The Hanoverian Regiment of Rifle Guards.

[2] Torchlight music, formerly very common in Germany.

[3] Writing-master to Prince George.

[4] Chaplain at the German Chapel (now Marlborough House Chapel), St. James's Palace.

old parts of the building. Finished 'Guy Mannering,' a very interesting novel. 10*th*.—Yesterday morning I went with the Queen to St. Paul's for the Festival of the Sons of the Clergy. Though the ceremony lasted very long—5 hours—yet it was a very fine and imposing service. In the evening a ball at St. James's—very full, animated and pretty. 21*st*.—Yesterday afternoon, wishing to see the boats at Eton go up the river, I asked Mr. Wood's leave, and mentioned Lord Howe's name as a reason for going, because he had mentioned something about it, though I did not exactly understand what—I, by doing this equivocated and got into trouble, but I am happy to say we have made it up again. 24*th*.—Yesterday I had a long conversation with Mr. Wood about those persons called Saints. He thinks that people who are better than ourselves are generally called Saints by us. He then asked if amongst a party of young men, some of them asked me to get drunk when I knew it was wrong, whether I should refuse to get drunk with the chance of being called a Saint or not, which I hesitated to answer, though there ought to be no hesitation. 25*th*.—Yesterday Princess Victoria's birthday. All went to Virginia Water, where we dined, and came away at 7. Began my new plan of writing to Mama every day. 28*th*.—Yesterday my dear Cousin Cumberland's birthday. May he live long and recover his eyesight, for I really love him dearly. To-day the King's 'sham'[1] birthday. To him likewise I wish a long and prosperous life, particularly in these very singular and disastrous times. What a very disagreeable thing it must be to be a king! May I never be one, but if one must be one, study the welfare of your people, and behave in a manner just, religious and true. 29*th*.—Yesterday King's birthday. A very full drawing-room, 1,400 people. Mr. W. gave me a hint about behaving better in society, and speaking to people in a more pleasing manner. Dined at St. James's. A large party, among others the Duchess of Kent and Princess Victoria, who has a nice countenance and is greatly improved. 30*th*.—Went to the Opera last night with the Queen. Walked home

1834
ÆT. 15

[1] Official birthday.

1834 Æt. 15 from thence with Lord Howe. The first time I was in the Streets of London so late. Plenipo, a horse of Mr. Batt's, won the Derby. . . .

June 4.— . . . What very odd dispositions different people have. Lord Adolphus [1] has a most extraordinary turn for turning everything into ridicule and makes, I have no doubt, a good number of little embellishments. 18*th*.— To-day is the anniversary of the famous battle of Waterloo, which took place just nineteen years ago. We can all never praise God sufficiently for having allowed our arms to be victorious on that memorable day, which decided the fate of Europe, and was the overthrow of Bonaparte. May the Duke of Wellington live long to be a blessing to the Country. 22*nd*.— . . . Received a letter from Augusta yesterday, very nicely written as to style.

July 24.— . . . What a very extraordinary effect a thunderstorm has on different people. Poor Lady Cornwallis shuts herself up, as soon as there is one coming, in a dark room, and she stays there till it is quite over. I am now very fond of bathing, but I cannot yet take headers.

August 5.— . . . Took several running footers, and a hedder for the first time yesterday morning. . . . 7*th*.— Went to Ascot to see a horse, which I hope will do as an hunter for me. Showed some signs of fear when mounting him, which at my age is very wrong. . . . I am happy to say that I have received the Queen's permission to begin to shoot. 14*th*.—The day before yesterday I went out shooting for the first time, had three shots, but, as might be expected, killed nothing. I however at first behaved very ill indeed, and was quite alarmed lest the gun should kick, and therefore lost many good opportunities of fireing. I feel dreadfully ashamed of what I have done, and have made up my mind to try to get the better of every kind of useless fear. 23*rd*.—It is really a most dreadful thing that I am as yet not perfect in spelling, particularly proper names, which is a thing of great importance for me. Mr. Wood has in consequence desired me to learn a certain

[1] Lord Adolphus FitzClarence. In after-years an intimate friend of His Royal Highness.

quantity of names every day for five minutes after luncheon, which, though a good thing and which will probably make me know them shortly, is yet very degrading for a boy of 15. 26*th*.—Yesterday I went into the little Park to shoot pigeons, and killed five, 3 sitting on a tree, and two flying, and I liked it uncommonly. I think I wounded a hare too, but we could not find it. After dinner at 8 we went out to catch sparrows in nets all about the ivy in the Park, and we caught about a dozen and a half. It was very good fun. 28*th*.—Behaved very ill I am sorry to say yesterday about leaping, indeed so like a baby I was, that I felt afterwards very angry with myself, and dreadfully ashamed, particularly as Mr. Hudson[1] was present. On Monday however I am going to redeem my character, by leaping the hurdles near Sir Andrew Barnard's stables. . . . 29*th*.—Yesterday at luncheon a dispute arose between Lady Sophia and the Queen, I having been the innocent cause, by making a remark to Lady Sophia of her good appetite. I shall now, however, never make any more remarks in the King's or Queen's presence. . . .

1834
ÆT. 15

October 7.—Yesterday a most disagreeable thing occurred. The Queen's money is now by the great expenses of her situation found to be nearly all gone, and it will be requisite for her to reduce either her Charities or Luxuries. She prefers doing the latter, and in consequence some reductions were necessary, particularly in the Stables. In order to settle this, Lord Howe, who now acts as Treasurer, desired to speak and arrange with Lord Erroll about it. This the latter took very ill, and has, in consequence, sent in his resignation yesterday afternoon. I hope however that it will yet be all amicably settled. 8*th*.—I am happy to say that the business with Lord Erroll has been amicably settled, and he keeps his situation. 17*th*.—Last night after I had gone to bed, the news came down of the House of Lords and Commons having been burnt down. A most tremendous fire it must have been, for we could see the flames for several hours, even here [Windsor].

Burning of the Houses of Parliament

[1] Afterwards Sir James Hudson, secretary to Sir Herbert Taylor. He became eventually Minister at Turin.

1834 Æt. 15

18*th*.—I am sorry to say that the account which arrived the night before last relative to the destruction by fire of the two Houses of Parliament is but too true. They are both entirely burnt down, as is likewise the house of the Speaker, and of Mr. Lee, one of the Clerks. The various documents and almost everything of value have been saved. The King and Queen went to town to see the ruins.

Brighton, November 10.—Yesterday morning I am sorry to say I behaved very ill indeed on several occasions, and was very unkind in my language to dear Mr. Wood. I got so violent at last in my arguments that I was obliged to leave the room, and if I do not behave well, during the week, I am not to hunt. 16*th*.—At length we have an important and I hope at the same time good news. Lord Melbourne seeing that it was impossible to carry on a Government any longer, in a most honourable manner came down on Thursday last to resign, upon which the King immediately sent to the Duke of Wellington, who arrived last night. Jimmy Hudson went off immediately to Turin for Sir Robert Peel, who is now there. 24*th*.— . . . I suppose to-day or to-morrow Mr. Hudson will find Sir Robert Peel. The former has been heard of from Paris, having crossed from Dover to Boulogne in four hours in an open boat and six oars.

Resignation of Lord Melbourne

Sir R. Peel sent for

London, December 2.—Yesterday before setting off from Brighton the melancholy news reached us of the death of the poor Duke of Gloucester [1]—who expired about 7 o'clock on Sunday evening the 30th. . . . He died very quietly in his sleep. . . . I am staying at Cambridge House, which is very comfortable. 6*th*.—Yesterday, to the great surprise of everybody, Mr. Hudson returned. He found Sir Robert at Rome, and has altogether been absent 19 days, in which time he has gone near 3,000 miles. He expects Sir Robert on Sunday or Monday next. He is looking very well, though rather thinner, and tells us that he has not touched any meat or wine the whole time that he has been away,

Death of the Duke of Gloucester

[1] William Frederick, second Duke of Gloucester and Edinburgh and Earl of Connaught. Born 1776. Married in 1816 his first cousin, the Princess Mary, daughter of George III.

nor has he been in bed excepting for a few hours at Rome. 1834
10*th*.—Sir Robert Peel arrived yesterday morning at ÆT. 15
8 o'clock. He went to see the King in the afternoon. He is looking very well and came from Rome in 11 days and 7 nights, which is very quick—Lady Peel came the whole way with him, which is really a wonderful thing for a lady who is not very strong. 11*th*.—Yesterday at the Council Sir Robert Peel was sworn in First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Duke of Wellington as Foreign Secretary, and Lord Lyndhurst, having resigned the Chief Barony, as Chancellor. Sir James Scarlett is mentioned as his successor in the Lord Chief Barony. No other places will, I suppose, be filled up, until an answer arrives from Lord Stanley and Sir James Graham as to their intention to go in the new Cabinet. 17*th*.—The new Government is formed with the exception of a few situations which are not as yet filled up. People are very sanguine, though they think that there are too many ultra-Tories in the Government. . . .

Brighton, December 31.—To-day is the last day of the year. Alas! how rapidly time flies, and what a serious thought it is that that which is once gone by can never be recalled. Have I so spent the last year that I have had no reason to regret the past? The next year will bring about a great change in my life. I am to be confirmed, and after that shall begin to consider myself more of a man. Great may be the changes that are awaiting us, for we are living in very extraordinary times. *Goodbye old Year!*

CHAPTER II

EARLY LIFE (*continued*)

1835–1837

Self-examination—Birthdays to be remembered—Preparation for Confirmation—The Duke and Duchess of Cambridge arrive in England—Love of music—Racing at Epsom—Princess Augusta's birthday—Confirmation of Princess Victoria—And of Prince George—Letter to his grandfather—Order of the Garter—Illness of the Duchess of Cambridge—Approaching return to Hanover—Duke of Wellington and Prince George's education—First public ceremony—Return to Hanover—Visit to Berlin—A grandfather's anxiety—Death of William IV. —Letter from Mr. Wood—The Queen on her accession—Return to England—Continental tour

1835
Æt. 15

Mr. Wood and the Prince's diary

Mr. Wood appears to have exercised the very closest supervision over his pupil's diary. After looking over the later entries for 1834, he pronounced them 'very childish and bad.' 'In consequence of this,' writes Prince George, 'he gave me some good advice about the manner of writing it, and said he was very anxious that I should continue to do it well, as it would be of great use to me to store up my thoughts upon any particular subject. . . .' In the maxim that confession is good for the soul Mr. Wood would seem to have held a firm belief, and he encouraged His Royal Highness to record all his faults and failings, so that he might the more easily and effectually overcome them.

Diary, January 15.—There is no greater duty involving on children than to obey their parents, and the child should not even think that he knew better than they. Mr. Wood explained to me yesterday that the reason why this bad habit of disobedience had increased so much of late years

is that the children very often receive now a better education than their parents, and in consequence think that they may—with impunity—follow their own ideas rather than those of their parents. *20th.*—How different amusements are according to one's age. But a year or two ago, I used to dislike talking to people whom I did not know very intimately, whereas now I like to be introduced and to converse with strangers. . . . *21st.*— . . . Chattering is my great defect, and from that spring most of my other faults. *22nd.*—I hope I shall very soon conquer my old fault of not liking to leap. Yesterday in the riding school, I certainly hesitated taking the bar for a short time, but at length mastered myself and went over. It is indeed of the greatest importance to me to get over this fault, for nothing is so bad as to have the reputation of a coward, which if I do not take care, I fear I shall have. *26th.*—On Saturday went out hunting. At first I was very nervous, but I am happy to say mastered myself and afterwards I rode very well. I hope that this old fault is conquered. There is now the standing by the fire which Mama speaks to me about in her letter. I think that in that respect too I am better, though I have not quite mastered it. *29th.*—In the course of the day Lord Howe's little girl rode one of the Queen's large horses, which she had never seen before, and without saying anything she mounted and cantered about the riding school. It struck my mind with shame to see so little a girl ride without any fear a new and very tall horse, whereas I am always very nervous when I have to ride a new one, and generally ask a great many questions. 1835 ÆT. 15

At the end of January Mr. Wood left the Court for a visit to Bath, and the Prince, in recording his departure, wrote that, though very sorry to lose him, he much liked 'the idea of being my own master for a short time.'

March 5.—To-day is the dear Queen's imaginary or State birthday, but though not her real one, yet I cannot help expressing a wish for her that she may live long in

1835 Æt. 15 health and happiness and be a comfort to the dear King in his age.

Observance of anniversaries

Both in early and in later life His Royal Highness was ever most scrupulous in his observance of anniversaries. The birthdays of his relatives and the anniversaries of great battles and other prominent events in the history of the nation and in the story of his own life were all remembered and recorded with punctilious care. Among his earliest papers was found the following 'list of birthdays that I want to remember':

January 10th, 1821	Cousin Lilli
January 11th, 1824	George of Mecklenburg
January 14th, 1793	Uncle George
January 21st, 1796	Aunt Mary of Strelitz
January 27th, 1773	Duke of Sussex
February 24th, 1774	My Father
March 2nd, 1778	Duchess of Cumberland
March 26th, 1819	Myself
April 9th, 1794	Aunt Louisa
April 24th, 1790	Uncle Frederick
April 25th, 1776	Aunt Mary
May 9th, 1814	Cousin Mary of Dessau
May 22nd, 1770	Aunt Elizabeth
May 31st, 1818	Cousin Louisa of Strelitz
June 14th, 1763	Great Aunt of Nassau

Æt 16

Windsor, March 30.—I understand from Mr. Wood that it is the Queen's intention to-day to examine me in the 39 Articles and other branches of scriptural instruction relative to my Confirmation. I feel rather nervous, particularly as Lord and Lady Howe have asked to be present likewise, and I only hope it will go off well. 31*st*.—I am happy to say that my examination went off very fairly yesterday, and I hope and think that the Queen and Lady Howe, who were present, were satisfied. Once or twice my attention failed for a few minutes, but I soon recovered

THE PALACE AT HANOVER, WHERE PRINCE GEORGE WAS BORN.

The double arms of Adolphus Frederick, Duke of Cambridge, and Augusta, his wife, are still in front of the building.

it. The whole lasted about two hours and a half, and I must confess that at the end of that time I was very tired. 1835 ÆT. 16

April 17.— . . . Yesterday morning I went with the Queen to attend a Confirmation in the Chapel Royal, a ceremony which I had never seen performed in the English Church, but which I find both impressive and beautiful.

Visit to England of the Duchess of Cambridge

Early in May of this year [1835] the Duchess of Cambridge and her two daughters paid a visit to England, and Prince George went down to Dover to meet them. He found that they had 'safely landed and looked remarkably well.' The day after their landing they came up to town, and on the road stopped at Canterbury to see the cathedral. The Duke followed some days later, and Prince George drove him down to St. James's to see the King and Queen, and afterwards 'took him to all my other uncles and aunts.' He found the Duke 'looking remarkably well and if anything a little thinner than he was.'

May 18.—The news in town to-day is that Miss Grant has run away with Mr. Sheridan, brother of Mistress Norton. 30*th*.—I am very happy to say that I am now getting on much better with my music, and drawing, and also with my fencing, which is remarkably good practice for me, as I hear that I stoop a little. . . .

From his father and mother Prince George inherited a strong liking for music, and in his early days he played both the piano and the organ—'an instrument I am particularly fond of'—with considerable skill. But in those days piano-playing was regarded as an effeminate occupation for boys, and gradually he gave it up.

June 5.—Yesterday we went to Epsom, and a very pretty sight we had. The road was crowded with carriages and foot passengers. At 3 o'clock the race commenced, but they made several false starts. At length they came on in capital style, and at a sharp pace, Trim leading, but presently Ibrahim took the lead, which he however soon

1835 Æt. 16 lost, for Mundry and Ascot soon were before him, and the former won cleverly by half a neck, Ascot being second, and Ibrahim third. There were not quite so many people there yesterday as usual, but yet an immense number. . . .

In after-life His Royal Highness generally witnessed each year the principal races, and entered in his diary the names of the winning horses, together with the betting and a brief description of the race.

June 7.—It happened yesterday when speaking to Mr. Wood, he warned me of a fault of mine, which is that I am uncivil to those of whom I have heard something said that I did not like without enquiring whether I have any cause for believing that they had done something worthy of such treatment. I also sometimes when at dinner interrupt two persons conversing, and take up the conversation myself. Another thing is that I speak in too high a pitch of voice, which is very disagreeable to others. *July* 16.—I regret to say that I have still one great fault, which I cannot at present get the better of, and that is that desire, if I may so call it, of doing nothing at odd moments.

Windsor, 20th.—It was a very fine day yesterday for my dear little sister Augusta's birthday, and all went off remarkably well. Augusta received some very beautiful presents in jewellery, and a delightful little writing desk. I gave her a translation of Buffon's Natural History in four volumes prettily bound. *24th.*—I regret to say that my conduct yesterday morning was such as to cause Mr. Wood to order me to breakfast in my own room. After he had had a long and very kind conversation with me relative to my conduct, particularly about my riding, and had said that Papa and Mama were so very anxious about me, I said, 'That is my look out!' an expression which is anything but proper on such an occasion. *30th.*—Last night the King and Queen and most of the inmates of the Castle went to town to be present at the Confirmation of my cousin the Princess Victoria,[1] which is to take place at the Chapel

Confirmation of Princess Victoria

[1] Afterwards Queen Victoria.

Royal to-day. With what awful thoughts must this poor Princess go up to the Altar of her God, considering the great responsibility which will probably at some future period be attached to her. May I also go up to the very Altar of my Maker with thoughts which are deeply impressed with a sense of the awfulness of what I am doing, and may God prosper the good resolutions I may then adopt. 1835 ÆT. 16

August 1.—The month which begins to-day will be to me a very eventful one. In the first place I am to be confirmed to-day week, and on the 15th I am to receive the Garter. The former is a most solemn and awful engagement which I take in the eyes of my God to be responsible for my own sins: the latter is a great honour which, as I have not actually deserved, I must merit by my own conduct. May I then for the future behave as I ought to do. *8th.*—The solemn day is come and my Confirmation is to take place this day. May God give me grace to enter upon it with proper feelings, and may He enable me to give all my attention to the ceremony before me, and not to those vain forms of this world which are as nothing, when compared with Eternity. *9th.*—I am delighted to say that my Confirmation yesterday went off remarkably well, and I thank God that I am now admitted among His real disciples. May He this day give me grace to enable me to receive the Sacrament worthily, and may I henceforth behave in such a manner as to prove that I have attended to and duly appreciated the good advice the Archbishop[2] gave me. *10th.*—Yesterday morning I received for the first time the most comfortable Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ. God be praised that I am now admitted into the number of His people, but I trust also that I am admitted worthily, and that I have made such good resolutions as to be able to abide by them. I think that the whole Ceremony of the Lord's Supper is a most solemn one, and one that ought not to be entered upon without preparation.

Prince George's Confirmation

Writing to his grandfather, the old Landgrave of Hesse,

[2] Dr. Howley, Archbishop of Canterbury.

1835 Æt. 16

with whom he was a great favourite, to announce his Confirmation, Prince George says:

Letter to his grandfather

August 11th.—Dear Grandpapa, As through the kindness you have ever shown me I am quite convinced of the interest you take in my wellbeing, dear Grandpapa, I hasten to announce to you that last Saturday I took one of the most important steps of my whole life, as I was then confirmed. Doubtless dearest Mama had already informed you that I was about to take this step, and I only regret that I had not the pleasure and satisfaction of your presence at this sacred ceremony. I cannot tell you how happy I am to hear your health has so much improved, and the wish soon to see you and all my beloved relatives at Rumpenheim has long lain on my heart, yet I fear I shall be obliged to postpone this wish to another year. The happiness I have had of having my dear parents and sisters with me for so long has been very great, but yet that pleasure will now soon be over since we shall now in another three weeks have to part. . . .

At the end of this letter the Prince's mother adds a few lines to her father:

Dearest Papa,—As George felt it to be his affectionate duty himself to announce to you his Confirmation, I left it to him as I thought it so natural he should do so. Thank God, it all went well. His examination in the presence of the Lord Bishop[1] of London passed admirably, so much so that the Bishop was very pleased and even astonished, and said to others he wished that all young candidates for Confirmation could pass as well as George did. It has been a real great happiness to me, I confess. But I am afraid I shall not be allowed to bring him away with me; the King,[2] alas! will not yet part with him, and it is so important now to give him a military education. . . .

The Order of the Garter conferred on Prince George

On August 15 the Order of the Garter was conferred upon Prince George. The ceremony took place at Windsor Castle at half-past six in the evening, and was attended

[1] Dr. Blomfield. [2] William IV.

by all the pomp and circumstance which the occasion demanded. To so young a boy the ordeal was somewhat alarming. 'I shall not be sorry when it is over,' he wrote on the morning of the day. However, the ceremony was entirely successful, and His Royal Highness was able to write on the following day: 'I am delighted to say that yesterday went off remarkably well, but I must say I think it is a very good thing over. The King has been kind enough to give me a most beautiful set of the Order. Two stars, and two splendid Georges, besides what I have got from the Lord Chamberlain's Office.' 1835 ÆT. 16

The Duchess of Cambridge and her daughters, who had remained in England to be present at the Confirmation of Prince George and at the ceremony of the conferring of the Garter, now prepared to return to Hanover. By Prince George the prospect of their departure was regarded with heartfelt grief. 'The nearer Thursday is approaching,' he wrote (August 25), 'the more I feel the misery I shall have to endure at parting, and I only pray to God that it may not be of long duration, and that we shall soon meet again in health and happiness. I now begin to feel that very natural desire of entering once more the house of my Parents.'

Return of the Duchess of Cambridge to Hanover

August 28.—Yesterday I regret to say I was obliged to take leave of my most beloved and respected Mother, and of my two darling sisters. God grant that I may soon—yes very soon—see them again. This prayer is very short, but it is most true and fervent, and nothing would give me more real satisfaction than to see it accomplished. . . .

Tour through England and Wales

Soon after the departure of the Duchess and her two daughters, Prince George, with Mr. Wood for his companion, left Windsor for an extensive tour through England and Wales. 'I have been making a most delightful tour in England,' His Royal Highness writes on his return to Windsor

1835 Æt. 16

(October 7), 'and have written a particular journal of it. I shall not say more of what I have seen and done than that I felt exceedingly interested and only hope I shall turn what I have seen to good account for the future. I have, however, come to this conclusion, that England is a most beautiful and flourishing country, and that it is very wrong that people always go abroad to travel, whereas they ought first to see their own country. I have stayed at several Gentlemen's houses, where the mode of living appeared to me quite delightful. . . .'

December 31.—This is the last day of the year 1835, and probably before going to rest we shall be in 1836. In many respects this has been an eventful year to me. I have been confirmed. . . . Besides in pleasures too I have had a great many. . . . May God grant that I have used these various things for my improvement—and advantage. Farewell old Year! Hail new Year!

1836 Æt. 16

January 25, 1836.—I have not been able to write for a long, long time, but it was quite out of my power. I have been paying a visit or two in the country, having been first at Lord Brownlow's, and then at Lord Howe's, with Prince Ernest and Mr. Wood. I must say we had a most pleasant little trip, and have been absent about a fortnight, having started on the 4th and returned on the 19th. Belton is a nice place and an excellent house, full of most agreeable society. At Gopsall there were fewer people, but yet we were very merry. The hunting unfortunately was prevented by the frost, and I only had two days of it, when my horses, four of which had gone down, went very tolerably well. We had several days' shooting and I killed much better than last year. One day I shot more than 12 hares, but I missed the pheasants terribly. However I am come back quite delighted, particularly with the kindness of everybody. *26th.*—I regret to state that my beloved mother has been very ill indeed, so much so that for several days she was in danger, and though the last accounts were much better, yet she is still in bed and far from well.

Country visits

Illness of the Duchess of Cambridge

May God grant that the consequences may not be bad, and that she may soon recover her strength. *28th.*—No later accounts from Hanover have reached me at present, but the last were so satisfactory, the fever having left my mother for three days, that I think I need not be alarmed. 1836 Æt. 16

February 11.—It is a very odd thing, but I cannot get on with the Greek and Latin as well as I ought, that is to say, I do not dislike them, but I cannot do more than about 20 lines or so a lesson, which for my age is really very bad. I must endeavour to 'pull up,' as Mr. Clifford says, or else I may probably some day be considered a dunce, which is certainly not very agreeable.

Approaching return to Hanover

The time was now drawing near when His Royal Highness was to leave England and return to Hanover again to take up his residence under his parents' roof. The prospect awakened mingled feelings of pleasure and pain. In November 1835 he had written: 'In seven months from this time I hope to be once more united with my German friends. But at the same time I hope to return to England in the course of every year, for I love this country dearly and I should be very sorry to have to leave it for long! . . .' Now he experienced chiefly the sorrow of breaking with English ties. 'Alas!' he wrote on April 11, 1836 Æt. 17 'the time of my going to Hanover is now rapidly approaching, when I shall have to quit a beloved preceptor, who has been with me for 8 years and who has ever been my friend in all circumstances. The only thing I am glad about is seeing my parents and sisters, which is, of course, always a source of great pleasure to me, for they are all goodness to me, and I should be very ungrateful if I were not to return theirs with mutual affection. . . .'

Diary, April 15.—I am at this moment sitting for my picture, which is to be for Mr. Wood. It is in oil, and the painter who is doing it, is a young man of the name of Lucas, who is apparently very clever. . . . *May* 1.—We

1836 Æt. 17 have to-day the first of May and I fear I shall only remain one month longer in England. May God grant that my stay at Hanover may not be very long, but that during the time I am there it may be of use to me. *July* 1.—Another month is gone over. I suppose during the course of the present month I shall go to Hanover. How sorry I shall be to leave all my dear friends here. I hope, however, that I shall soon come back to see them again. God knows how attached I am to this country and to its inhabitants.

In the spring of 1836 Queen Adelaide consulted the Duke of Wellington as to the course which the further education of Prince George should follow, and the Duke replied in a letter which is dated April 20.

The Duke of Wellington and Prince George's education

'I have considered,' he wrote, 'Your Majesty's most gracious communication regarding Prince George with the attention which such a subject deserves, and with all the interest which I feel in His Royal Highness's welfare. His Royal Highness is in that position as that it may happen to him to be called upon to exert all the energies of his mind at a very early period of his life; his future reputation, his self-satisfaction and happiness will depend very much upon his being prepared in such a case to perform his duties. It is most desirable, then, that his education should be completed, that his mind should be enlightened and cultivated to the highest degree that may be possible; that his opinions and character should be formed by the continued pursuit of his studies to the latest period that may be practicable. Even if it should be supposed possible that the son of the Duke of Cambridge, and such a prince as he is, might pass his life in a private station, the cultivation of his understanding and the acquirement of the knowledge of men and their affairs by study must be an advantage. Under the circumstances I confess that it appears to me to be most desirable that the Gentleman who has attended His Royal Highness for so many years to the satisfaction of the King and of Your Majesty and of the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge should be

desired still to attend him whether His Royal Highness should remain in England or should proceed to Germany. I understand that he has the advantage of possessing the confidence and goodwill of His Royal Highness himself. The study of the theory of the Military profession is not incompatible with the other studies to which I have referred. On the contrary, such studies must facilitate and promote the acquirement of a knowledge of the scientific branches of the Military Art. It is absolutely necessary for Prince George to be Master not only of the theory and scientific branches of the Art, but likewise of the detail and practice of Military discipline as well in the Services of Germany as of England. Of course he would require these. But the first thing of all is to form his mind, his principles and his judgment, and to give him a knowledge of Men, their actions, their affairs, and of their influence upon the events of the world. He will thus overcome every difficulty—whether theoretical, practical, or of detail; and he will be equal to the performance of any duty to which he may be called.' 1836 ÆT. 17

It was decided, however, that the Prince should be put under the charge of a Military Governor, and eventually Colonel Cornwall [1] was selected for the post.

Diary, Windsor, May 3.—Sir William and Lady Gomm are at this moment staying in the Castle. I think they are very good people, and that I shall get on very well with them. The only objection to *him* is that he is rather too old a man to travel with, &c. *9th.*—I am to lay the first stone of a Church to-day, which is to be built at Upton-cum-Chalvey, a village near Windsor. I must say I feel very nervous, as I have never done anything of the sort before, but I trust all will go off well. *21st.*—I went yesterday to the Christening of Lord Denbigh's little boy, who is a fine child, without being pretty. There were only one

First public ceremony

[1] Coldstream Guards. He accompanied the Duke of Cambridge to Hanover in 1836, when His Royal Highness entered the Hanoverian army as a 'Jäger' of the Guards.

1836 Æt. 17 or two of the family present, besides those who came from the Castle. . . . *June* 20.—On Sunday I had a long conversation with Mr. Wood, in which he told me that I was too apt, when in society, to think of myself before others, and that I constantly never spoke with strangers when they dine with the King, but with those that I see every day. He instanced a case with Sir John Fellows, who had remarked this behaviour to Mr. Harvey. *27th.*—My picture painted by Lucas is now entirely finished, and I am happy to say that it meets with the approbation of everyone. . . . Mr. Lucas is getting on very well now, and has, at this moment, no less than sixteen orders for various pictures. *July* 11.—Colonel Cornwall came down here on Saturday and stayed over yesterday. To judge from appearances he is a very nice person and suits me very well. He is younger than Sir William Gomm, is of excellent family and acquainted with most people that live in the best society in London. I think he will also please at Hanover, which is a great point.

Return to Hanover

August 13.—It is so long since I wrote last that I must write a few words to apologise to myself for so long an interruption. Since the 17th of July great changes have taken place in my education, for at that time I was still in England under the direction of the King and Queen, and having Mr. Wood as my tutor, and at this moment I am in Germany, under the care of my own parents, and having at the same time a Military Governor in the person of Colonel Cornwall. Though I felt this change very deeply, yet I am perfectly satisfied with my present condition, and must confess that I have been received in a most kind and hearty manner by everybody in Germany. Such being the case I must add a few lines about my present pursuits, and about my movements in general. I left England on the 21st of July, and had a very good passage from London to Antwerp. From thence we travelled day and night to Hanover by way of Aix-la-Chapelle, Düsseldorf, &c. and arrived on the morning of my mother's birthday. I found the Duchess of Gloucester at Hanover and we stayed there together a week, when we started for

this place, Rumpenheim,[1] by way of Cassel and Marburg, stopping one day at Rothenkirchen. My relations, thank God, are all well, though my Grandfather is looking much older. We found here besides my Grandfather and Great Aunt, my Aunt Lotte,[2] Uncle George[3] and Cousins Louise,[4] and Mary[5] of Dessau. . . . I am delighted to be once more at dear old Rumpenheim, and I confess I feel very happy to see my cousins again. Louise is very handsome and exceedingly amiable, and I must confess that I am very fond of her. *November* 6.—It has been quite out of my power, partly from idleness, partly from my unsettled life, to write my diary, ever since I left Rumpenheim, and as this is more than two months ago, I must recapitulate the chief part of my movements from that time down to the present day, the 6th of November. We left Rumpenheim on the 22nd of August in company with my Aunt Lotte, and my two cousins. Our travelling party consisted—including servants—of about 32 people, who occupied eight carriages. The first night we slept at Fulda, the second at Cassel, the third at Pyrmont, and on the 4th we reached Hanover. Here we stayed till Sunday the 28th, when we took leave of my Aunt,[6] who started for Copenhagen, and we went on the same day to Celle[7] for the races. We lived at the Château, which had been newly fitted up and was very pretty. . . . We returned to Monbrillant[8] on the 7th of September, and stayed there quietly for about ten days, after which we went to Rothenkirchen.

1836
ÆT. 17

[1] Rumpenheim-on-the-Main, near Frankfort, was a favourite palace of the Hesse family. The Landgrave Frederick bequeathed it jointly to his children, at the same time expressing a wish that his children and grandchildren should assemble there every second year. The instruction was faithfully observed, and the Duke's diary contains frequent mention of these family meetings.

[2] A Danish princess, wife of the Landgrave William of Hesse, brother to the Duchess of Cambridge.

[3] Prince George of Hesse, brother to the Duchess of Cambridge.

[4] Daughter of the Landgrave William of Hesse, afterwards Queen of Denmark.

[5] Daughter of the Landgrave William of Hesse.

[6] 'Lotte.'

[7] Queen Caroline Matilda lived and died in the Château of Celle.

[8] The summer residence of the Electors of Hanover.

1837 Æt. 17 is still very gay and seems fond of amusing himself. Princess Liegnitz,[1] his wife, is a charming person of about 40. She is, however, still pretty, and is the more agreeable because she is not the least forward or pushing. The Crown Prince[2] is a very amusing jolly person, and his wife extremely amiable, Prince William[3] a very kind and sensible man, and his wife[4] very handsome and agreeable. I must own she is the person that pleased me most, and I am happy to say we parted very good friends. Princess Charles,[5] the sister of the latter, is also handsome. *22nd.*—I had not time the last few days to write, but will endeavour to-night to finish what I wrote about last. Prince Albert[6] I did not see much of, but the Princess,[7] a sister of the Prince of Orange, though not handsome, is a very clever and superior person. . . . Prince[8] and Princess William,[9] the king's brother, are charming persons, and their two sons, Adelbert and Waldemar[10] two extremely nice young men. . . . The Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz,[11] my uncle, is a man rather advanced in years. He is passionately fond of music and indeed of all the fine arts. My Aunt Mary was all kindness and good nature, as was also my uncle, Prince George of Hesse.[12] My cousin Louisa[13] is a very clever and pleasing girl, though I cannot call her pretty. My cousin Frederick[14] is an excellent hearted manly boy of about my age and height. Unfor-

[1] Formerly Countess Harrach, morganatic wife of Frederick William III., King of Prussia.

[2] Afterwards Frederick William IV. of Prussia.

[3] William, afterwards King of Prussia and German Emperor.

[4] Formerly Princess Augusta of Saxe-Weimar.

[5] Princess Marie of Saxe-Weimar.

[6] Youngest brother of Frederick William IV.

[7] Princess Marianne, a Dutch princess.

[8] Prince William (the elder), brother of Frederick William III.

[9] Formerly Princess of Hesse-Homburg.

[10] Prince Waldemar was on the Staff in India of Lord Hardinge.

[11] George, father-in-law to the Grand Duchess Dowager Augusta of Mecklenburg-Strelitz.

[12] Brother to the Duchess of Cambridge.

[13] Princess Louise of Mecklenburg.

[14] Grand Duke Frederick of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, husband of Princess Augusta.

tunately he is very short-sighted. The Grand Duke Charles of Mecklenburg [1] is a very clever statesman, a good officer, and a polished man in every respect. The Duke and Duchess of Cumberland, George [2] and Charles [3] Solms I know so well, that I need not mention them particularly. The only person that still remains to be noticed is a Prince of Wurtemberg,[4] a young man in the Prussian Service, who, I must confess, I liked exceedingly. 1837 ÆT. 17

(*From the Landgrave of Hesse to Prince George*)

Your attention in writing to me on the 6th after entering on the New Year gave me much pleasure, a proof of your good heart; the recollection of your years of childhood at Rumpenheim, where you were merry and contented, made me very happy. Now you are a grown-up youth, but, thank God, no 'dandy.' Keep your good childlike heart, which will bring you the love and blessing of your worthy parents so long as you remain in your present good sentiments. . . . According to the newspapers, you are much occupied with hunting, with your father at Bückeburg; at Dessau you are expected, thus a complete hunter! But in fox-hunting I beg you most earnestly to use the greatest caution, to remember that ditches and fences are much deeper and wider than in England, and arms and legs in greater danger, and if you are even saved from that, damp and chill give colds and rheumatism that last for life long. What do you gain by it? A very very aged Grandfather of much experience, knowing what these things lead to, out of his heartfelt love for his Grandson, begs you to place this letter in your album, and to read it before every hunting expedition. Then at least my conscience will be free from all responsibility. I see by the papers that you and your sisters (to whom, pray, say all that is affectionate from me) have received beautiful Christmas presents, on which I congratulate you. Wishing that in 50 years it may still

[1] The Grand Duke George's brother, who formed the Prussian Guards.
[2] Prince George of Hanover.
[3] Step-brother of Prince George of Hanover.
[4] Prince Augustus.

1837 Æt. 17 give you the same pleasure to remember your truly loving old Grandfather,

FRIEDRICH.

Military enthusiasm

Prince George began his military career at a very early age, for when he was only nine he was given the patent of colonel *en second* of the Guard Jäger Regiment of the Hanoverian army. Upon his return to Hanover His Royal Highness took up active duties with his regiment, and served in the first instance as a private soldier, and afterwards as an officer. From the first he took the greatest

Æt. 18

pride in his work. 'On May 9th of this year,' he writes, 'I mounted my first Guard at the Palace at Hanover. Lieutenant Baring was on Guard with me. I must confess it was one of the happiest days of my life, for I, for the first time, felt as if I was really a soldier.' Anxious that his mother and sisters might see his capacity as an officer, the Prince was in the habit of putting his men through their drill in the Avenue leading to Herrenhausen, near Monbrillant, which was now the summer residence of the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge.

Death of William IV

In June of this year [1837] occurred the death of King William. Mr. Wood, then chaplain to Queen Adelaide, wrote several letters during the King's last illness preparing Prince George for the approaching end, and as soon as the King was dead he addressed the following letter to His Royal Highness:

Windsor Castle, June 27.

Letter from Mr. Wood

MY DEAREST PRINCE,—God's will be done! Our dear lamented King expired this morning at 12 minutes after 2—calm, resigned, happy and without a struggle. The transition from life to death was so easy as to be almost imperceptible to those who stood by and solaced His Majesty's last moments. He had been gradually sinking during the whole day. Towards night the near approach of death, of which he himself was quite conscious, became more evident. He remained, however, sitting in his dressing-room till

one o'clock, when he was moved into his sitting-room, where, in consequence of his extreme weakness, a small bed had been prepared for him. On this the dear King was laid, the Queen, as she had done for hours before, continuing on her knees by his side, gently rubbing his hands and striving thus to restore the rapidly departing warmth. Under these circumstances, with his hand within those of the Queen, our beloved King calmly breathed his last, the Archbishop,[1] who had been summoned a few minutes previously, pronouncing a prayer as his spirit returned unto God who gave it. Our lamented Sovereign's dearest friends could not have desired a happier, easier death. May the Almighty grant that it may be blessed to him and to ourselves. 1837 ÆT. 18

The poor Queen remained some time on her knees in prayer by the bedside. She then went to her room, and slept for some hours. She got up, however, soon after 8 to receive Lord Conyngham, who with the Archbishop had been to announce the sad event to the Princess Victoria. You will, with ourselves, be rejoiced to hear that Lord Conyngham was much pleased with the propriety of the Princess's manner, which was marked by *deep feeling*, dignity, and self-possession. The news had not been expected (though Prince Hohenlohe had gone out yesterday with the account of the poor King's hopeless state) at Kensington. After some time the Queen Victoria came down—before 6 o'clock—in a dressing gown and slippers and received the Archbishop and Lord Conyngham, *alone*. The former made a beautiful address to the Princess, and described the King's illness and death, after which Lord Conyngham returned here with a very kind and feeling message to our poor Queen, placing everything in the Castle at her disposal and making many affectionate inquiries after her.

Of our dear Queen's conduct throughout the trials which she has undergone, few persons can speak with composure. Dr. Chambers, a perfect stranger, can mention neither the name of the King nor the Queen without tears.

[1] Dr. Howley, Archbishop of Canterbury.

1837 Æt. 18

It would fill many a sheet of paper if I were to detail all the beautiful traits of the King's meekness and resignation, and truly religious feeling during his illness. These I must reserve for another opportunity, when I can write (*if I do not speak*) with more composure. He received the Sacrament from the Archbishop Sunday morning, who also, by the King's desire, frequently read prayers to him in the course of the afternoon and yesterday. In the course of the service for the visitation of the sick, when the Archbishop gave the poor King his blessing, the Queen (for the first time in the King's room) could no longer control her feelings, when the King gently said, 'Bear up, bear up,' and, as the Archbishop left the room called out, 'May God bless *you, excellent, worthy* man!'

In a word, my dear Prince, I verily believe there never was a scene so productive of genuine consolation in the midst of the deepest sorrow, and I shall greatly err if the effect be not very great throughout the country. Greater and more real interest and love have never been manifested on behalf of *any* King.

On the immediate effect of this great loss of one who was with so much sincerity a father and benefactor and friend to you, my dear Prince, for so many years, as regards your plans or those of the Duke, it would be almost presumption in me to speculate. But I should be much to blame, if I did not inform you of the opinion which Sir Herbert Taylor[1] has just expressed, that you ought to lose no time in hastening to this country, to be present when the last sad offices are performed to our departed King. It is probable that your own affectionate heart has anticipated this suggestion of public duty, and that the Duke and Duchess, even if necessity should detain his Royal Highness in Hanover, will have already proposed to you to come over. You will, I am sure, appreciate my motives in saying this much and acquainting you with the general expectation which all here entertain. . . . Though he was less certain about the Duke, yet Sir Herbert felt no doubt as to your determination. The funeral will probably take

[1] Private Secretary to King George IV. and King William IV.

place in about 17 days from the present time, perhaps 16. An interval of 19 days elapsed at the death of George 4th, but now everything will be done to shorten the poor Queen's distressing sojourn here. Her Majesty, of course, remains till after the ceremony. 1837 Æt. 18

The Queen's exertions have been incredible. We yet tremble for the effects, but I am thankful to be able to say that Dr. Chambers found her Majesty this morning better than he could have expected. And now I must conclude. May the Lord bless you and protect you! My humble duty and respectful condolence pray express for me to their Royal Highnesses, and believe me, my dear Prince, through every changing scene of life,

Your devoted friend,

JOHN RYLE WOOD.

(*From Queen Victoria, on her accession, to her uncle, the Duke of Cambridge*)

Kensington Palace, July 4, 1837.

MY DEAR UNCLE,—I received your kind letter a few days ago, and beg you to accept my best thanks for it. I fully appreciate all your kind feelings towards me, and trust that Providence will protect and guide me, in the difficult, but proud, task I have to perform, of governing this great Empire. Though I am well aware that I never can replace my lamented Uncle, I trust you will always find me an affectionate niece to an Uncle who has always been so kind to me. I rejoice to see you soon, as also, I hope, my Aunt and dear Cousins. Pray, dear Uncle, give them my best love, and believe me always

Your affectionate Niece,

VICTORIA R.

When the news reached Hanover it was immediately decided that Prince George should go over to England for the funeral, and His Royal Highness was not slow in acquainting Mr. Wood with his purpose. A second letter was then dispatched by Mr. Wood from Windsor Castle in the following terms:

1837 Æt. 18

My dear Prince,—How much pleasure have I derived from the contents of your letter informing me of your intended arrival in England to-morrow! Nothing but the duty of reading prayers to our poor widowed Queen in her private room prevents me from meeting you on your landing. Her Majesty is quite cheered at the prospect of seeing you. She had desired me to write to you with her best love to express her hope that when you had seen all your uncles and aunts in town and at Kensington you would then come on to Windsor, but just as I left Her Majesty's room, I met Sir Herbert Taylor, who had just received a letter from the Duke, and he expressed such a decided opinion that you ought to come direct and without delay to this place, not only out of a sense of duty to the Queen, but to the remains of our lamented King, that I cannot hesitate, with Her Majesty's consent, to urge you to act on Sir Herbert's advice. Allow me, therefore, to suggest that you should pay short visits to the Princess Augusta and the Duchess of Gloucester, and then make the best of your way hither, where everything is ready for your reception. On your arrival here it will be proper for you to communicate thro' Lord Conyngham, who is in the Castle, with the Queen at Kensington. Lord Conyngham has written to his office to signify your intention of attending the dear King's funeral. It will be easy for you to go up to Town, for any purpose that may be requisite, such as mourning, etc. . . . I look anxiously and impatiently for your appearance early to-morrow afternoon. If you have any means of preparing us as to the time we may expect you, pray do so.

Adieu, my dearest Prince, till we meet.

Your sincere friend,

John Ryle Wood.

The Prince himself tells the story of his movements in his diary:

Return to England

July 10.—A messenger has arrived who has announced to us that all is over and that our beloved King is no more. . . . Upon hearing this it was immediately settled

that I was to go to England for the funeral. At 12 o'c. on June 28th I started with Colonel Cornwall for England, where I now am. We travelled day and night, got to Rotterdam on Friday, and embarked the next morning at 9 o'clock. We found the Duke of Saxe-Meiningen, the Queen Dowager's brother, on the steam boat. After an excellent passage of 24 hours, we landed at the Custom House. After landing, the Duke and myself started off for Windsor, where we found the Queen Dowager looking much better than we anticipated. . . . On Wednesday at half-past two I went by appointment to Queen Victoria, who received me most graciously. 1837 ÆT. 18

How much the death of King William meant to the family of the Duke of Cambridge is made clear from the following entry:

July 12.—The death of our poor dear King, besides the sorrow we all feel for his personal loss, is in another way a most severe blow to us all, particularly to my own family, for by his death and the accession of Queen Victoria, the kingdom of Hanover is separated from the Crown of Great Britain,[1] and my father is therefore removed from the Government of that country, where he has lived for these 24 years, and where we have all been born. . . . Alas! our connection with it is now suddenly broken off: for though we are still, and by God's blessing ever shall remain Princes of Hanover, yet we shall live for the most part in this country. My Uncle the Duke of Cumberland has now become king of that country, and my cousin Princess Victoria is Queen of England. I am thus nearly allied in blood to two great and happy families that are governing two happy and prosperous nations.

Continental tour

Later in the month Prince George and Colonel Cornwall left England for a journey on the Continent. Arriving at Rotterdam without any definite plans, His Royal Highness found a letter from his mother announcing her intention

[1] The Salic Law confined the succession to the male line.

1837 Æt. 18 of making a short tour to Düsseldorf, Bonn, Wiesbaden, and so on to Rumpenheim. The Prince at once determined to join her, and they met at Düsseldorf. 'We were charmed to meet again, though our separation had only lasted three weeks.' At Cleves, where the journey was broken on the way to Düsseldorf, they found the town 'bustle and confusion, the inhabitants being busily employed in their favourite amusement of shooting at the target, an amusement common at this time of the year throughout the whole of Germany.' Commenting on the appearance of some Hussars quartered at Düsseldorf, whom he saw at exercise, His Royal Highness writes: 'I must say, that though not equal to the Hanoverians, yet I was very much pleased with their appearance and their manner of moving. The horses were not as good as I have been accustomed to see, but yet they were not bad, though on the whole rather small. It is really wonderful to think that men can ride so well who only serve for three years.' From Düsseldorf they went on to Cologne and Bonn, 'where we put up at the Hotel called the Star.' At Bonn they went with Professor Schlegel[1] to see the university. 'Schlegel, who has once been so famous and is still very clever, is really very eccentric, if not a little mad. We were very much amused at his appearance, manners, and conversation.' After seeing the sights in the neighbourhood of Bonn they continued their journey to Coblentz, visited Ehrenbreitstein, and afterwards proceeded up the Rhine in the steamboat, in which the company 'was not on the whole very select, though there were one or two with whom I made acquaintance who were nice people.' From Bingen, where they landed (the landing was attended with considerable delay 'owing to our having to disembark six heavy carriages'), they drove to Wiesbaden, where they found the

[1] August Wilhelm von Schlegel, German poet, translator, and critic; was made a professor at Bonn University in 1818. He died in 1845.

Duke of Cambridge 'looking well and in excellent spirits. In fact, I think his spirits are a little too good, for he is rather excited.' Thence the journey was continued to Rumpenheim, where there was a large family gathering. 'Of course our first arrival was most melancholy, for we looked for the person who was always the chief object of our visit, my poor departed Grandfather.[1] Alas! he is no more, though in fact we may consider this as a blessing, for at his time of life existence is burthensome.' 1837 ÆT. 18

The Duke and Duchess of Cambridge and their family left Hanover for England, the Duke on June 27 and the Duchess on July 16. Here they settled, in the first instance, at Cambridge House, Piccadilly, and later at Cambridge Cottage, Kew.

[1] The Landgrave Frederick.

CHAPTER III

GIBRALTAR LIFE AND TOURS

1838–1839

The year reviewed—St. Leonard's—The Duke of Cambridge as musician—The Canadian insurrection—Nineteenth birthday—Visit to St. Paul's School—Anniversary of Waterloo—Coronation of Queen Victoria—Removal to Kew—Departure for Gibraltar—Meeting with the King and Queen of Spain—Arrival at Gibraltar—Military duties—Letters from the Duke of Cambridge—Illness—A disappointment—Twentieth birthday—Departure from Gibraltar—Malta—Trips and inspections—Off to Corfu—News from home—Country festivities—Pleasant excursions—Off again—Nicopolis—Excavations—Visit to Delphi—Corinth—Athens—The political situation at home—The Acropolis visited—Letter from the Duke of Cambridge

1838
Æt. 18
Back in England

AFTER an interval of some months, occupied in the removal from Hanover to England and in the task of settling down in new surroundings, Prince George resumed his diary on the first day of 1838 with the customary review of the year which had just closed. '1837 has been for us a most eventful year, and on the whole I must say very unpropitious, though it is wicked to complain. My poor Grandfather [1] is dead, the dear King [2] is no more, besides a variety of friends. Our position in the world is entirely changed. My father has been obliged to quit Hanover and is now settled in England like the rest of the Royal family.'

Diary, January 3.—Yesterday morning at 9½ we started from London, and reached this place [St. Leonard's] without any accident at 5. The dear Queen [3] is looking

[1] The Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel died on May 20, 1837.
[2] King William IV. passed away one month later, on June 20, 1837.
[3] The Queen Dowager (Princess Adelaide of Saxe-Meiningen).

remarkably well, and seems to be in very good spirits, all things considered. . . . *9th.*—Yesterday morning at 9, we started from St. Leonard's for London, and had a most rapid journey of 7 hours. On our arrival, we found a letter from Dessau telling us that my cousin Mary[1] had been confined on the 29th of a daughter. Both the Mama and baby were going on well, thank God, and I believe the only regret felt is that it is not a son. However, it is too late to think of that now, and I hope that perhaps at some other period a little gentleman may be forthcoming. *23rd.*—Yesterday we left London at about 1 o'clock, and arrived here at Stratfield Saye at 5. We are on a visit of two days to the Duke of Wellington, and have a very nice party. Besides my Father and Mother, Knesebeck and myself, there is the Duke of Wellington and Lord Douro, Lord and Lady Salisbury, Lord and Lady Jersey, Lord and Lady and Miss Fitzroy Somerset, and Count Pozzo di Borgo. *February* 14.—To-day I have been to the Queen's[2] first Levee. It was well attended, and went off well. The Queen did not say a great deal to people, but yet she seemed quite *à son aise. March* 2.— . . . I went to see Queen Adelaide and my Aunt Augusta,[3] both of whom are at Marlborough House, which is very nice indeed and uncommonly well fitted up. There is a slight smell of paint still in the house, but it is very trifling. My Aunt Augusta is to go into the old Queen's house at St. James's as soon as possible. *4th.*—This evening my father played with three musicians quartets. I had not heard him for a long time, and must confess that though he reads notes well, yet from want of practice, his execution is very imperfect and we heard unfortunately many false notes. *22nd.*— This morning I saw the Brigade of Guards who are under orders for Canada[4] inspected in the Park by Lord Hill.

1838
ÆT. 18

Troops for Canada

[1] Princess Mary of Anhalt, formerly Princess Mary of Hesse, and niece to the Duchess of Cambridge.

[2] Queen Victoria.

[3] Princess Augusta Sophia, daughter of George III.

[4] Shortly after the Queen's accession intelligence was brought to England of serious disturbances in Canada. The nascent insurrection was quickly suppressed, but so grave was the condition of the country

1838 Æt. 18 The 2nd Battalion of the Grenadiers and the 2nd of the Coldstream, form this brigade under the Command of Sir James Macdonell.[1] Of the 1,600 men out, there were hardly any under 5 feet 9 inches, and so remarkably even, that it was quite beautiful to see them. They appeared to be in very high order, and executed the few manœuvres they had to do with the greatest precision. The inspection lasted not quite two hours. . . . *26th.*—To-day is my birthday, and I am now entering upon my 20th year. An occasion like the present always gives rise to reflection, and one thinks of the past, and is also inclined to make plans for the future. Such is my case to-day. God grant that my past life has been pleasing in His sight, and that my future may be so too. I am now arrived at that period of life, when a man more or less becomes his own master. Young and inexperienced, one is likely to fall into faults and errors, which would be better avoided. May God forgive me if I do so, and may He assist me to avoid them as much as possible. God grant that my career may be good and happy, and that I may be of use to my fellow-creatures. Make me a good son, a kind brother, and a sincere friend. . . . I had some most acceptable and nice presents. My father gave me £40, my mother £20, and the Queen Dowager £40, my sister Augusta a very elegant riding whip, little Mary some flowers, Aunt Augusta a Clock, Aunts Mary [2] and Sophia [3] the whole set of the Duke of Wellington's and Lord Wellesley's despatches, the Duke of Sussex a gold chain, Colonel Cornwall a very nice edition of Molière, Mr. Wood a remarkably good portrait of himself, Lady Jersey some studs, the Queen Victoria (I beg her pardon for not having mentioned her before) a most beautiful and complete silver dressing-case, the Duchess of Kent some splendid prints, &c.

Æt. 19

that the Government suspended the constitution of Lower Canada for three years, and dispatched Lord Durham to Canada with plenary powers for dealing with the disturbances.

[1] Major-General Sir James Macdonell, K.C.B., K.C.H., was a general on the Staff in North America under General Sir John Colborne, in 1838.

[2] Daughter of George III., and afterwards Duchess of Gloucester.

[3] Daughter of George III.

May 10.—We are just come back (4 o'c.) from a most magnificent Ball at Buckingham Palace. The rooms looked remarkably well, the people were uncommonly well dressed, and very smart, both Ladies and Gentlemen, but more particularly the former, of which there were a great many pretty ones. The only drawback was that the thing was kept up too late, for almost everybody was gone before the Queen retired. I opened the Ball with Her Majesty, and I thought she danced really very nicely, and seemed to be very much amused. 16*th.*—This morning I accompanied my father to the city to St. Paul's School, where the boys had their annual speeches, which were really very good. The Head Master, Dr. Sleath, I have known some time. He is a very good and respectable old man, and I regret to say he is just on the point of leaving the place he now fills. There was a large number of bishops and other persons present, and at the conclusion of the speeches my father asked for an extra week's holidays, which was willingly granted, and seemed to give the young gentlemen great satisfaction. 17*th.*—To-day was appointed for the young Queen's birthday, and accordingly in the morning there was first a parade of the flank Companies of the Foot Guards, which looked most beautiful, particularly those of the third or Scots Fusiliers. Then afterwards I went to the Drawing Room, a very large one, 2,200 people being there, among whom, however, there was a considerable collection of ugly ones. 21*st.*—To-day I only went to the Cambrian ball, which is annually given for a Welsh Charity school. It is called a fancy dress ball, and I must confess there were a great many most extraordinary and, at the same time, vulgar looking people present, who had on the very oddest costumes I ever saw. 28*th.*—I am now quite a gay young man, and leading a regular London life, in a quiet sort of way nevertheless. Really, pleasure sometimes becomes quite a business, and in that respect is not very agreeable. . . . 1838 ÆT. 19

June 4.—This day, being appointed for the Eton Montem, I thought that for the honour and glory of Eton (being half an Etonian myself) it would be right to go down to give

1838 Æt. 19 one's 'salt money,' and so I started in company with Colonel Cornwall soon after 9, driving to Cranford Bridge and riding the rest of the way to Salthill. It was a most beautiful day, and there was an enormous quantity of people present. The Queen was also there, and was remarkably well received by the spectators. The boys seemed in excellent spirits, and some were most beautifully dressed in fancy costumes. The thing itself is nothing at all, and it is more the whole sight which is interesting. 18*th*.—To-day is the anniversary of the ever memorable battle of Waterloo. What a glorious victory that was to be sure and how that one event has immortalized the name of Wellington. I only hope and trust that that great man may long live to be a blessing to his country. Of course I left my name upon him, and went to see his table laid out, which is certainly very handsome. He gave his great annual dinner to the officers who served on that glorious day.

Coronation of Queen Victoria

28*th*.—To-day was a very busy day for all of us, and at the same time a most important one for the Country at large. Queen Victoria was crowned Queen of England. God grant that her reign may be happy to herself, and glorious to the nation, and that she may not forget the great duties she has to perform towards her people by maintaining the Constitution of this great country both with regard to Church and State. At a very early hour of the morning people began to assemble along the streets through which the procession was to pass, and the carriages rolled to the Abbey. At seven, the troops and the police made their appearance. The 20th Regiment extended from Buckingham Palace to Hyde Park Corner, the two battalions of Rifles from thence to the top of St. James's Street; the Marines all the length of St. James's Street: then a detachment of the Coldstreams occupied a part of Pall Mall: the two battalions of the Third the rest of Pall Mall, Charing Cross and Parliament Street as far as the Admiralty, the 3rd Battalion Grenadier Guards, the Royal Company of City Artillery and the first battalion Grenadier Guards the rest of the space to Abbey. The three regi-

PUBLIC ... MONDSEY

ments of Household Cavalry, the 4th and 6th Regiments of Dragoon Guards, the 10th Hussars and the 12th Lancers were interspersed along the whole line. The Artillery were stationed in St. James's Park. My sister, Miss Kerr, Colonel Cornwall and myself started from hence at a little before nine, when we drove down to St. James's Palace, where we joined my Aunt Augusta, Prince Ernest,[1] Lady Mary Pelham[2] and Sir Benjamin Stephenson,[3] and then we all went together down to the Abbey. The effect on entering was magnificent. The Cathedral was already quite full and looked most imposing. On the right of the Throne were the Peers, on the left the Peeresses, and in front the House of Commons. To the back of the Throne was the Orchestra, and all the rest of the places were filled by the public. We were close to the Altar, and opposite to us were the Bishops. Just above us was the Queen's private box, and above the Bishops were the boxes for the foreign Ambassadors and Ministers. In our box, which was exceedingly small, besides our party, the three Duchesses and their respective attendants, were the Duke of Nemours, the Duke of Coburg, the Duke of Nassau (who had just arrived), Prince Christian of Glücksburg,[4] the Princess of Hohenlohe, daughter of the Duchess of Kent, and the Prince of Leiningen. The Queen arrived a little before 12, and the Ceremony was conducted in the usual manner and without any remarkable occurrence. The Archbishop of Canterbury performed the Service, assisted by the Sub-Dean. The Bishop of London preached a most beautiful and appropriate sermon. The Queen, I think, looked less well than usual, but on the whole was very graceful and dignified. . . . The ceremony lasted till near four. Before it was quite over, the party with which I went started off for Cambridge House, where we arrived without the least difficulty. We here had time to take our luncheon comfortably, and indeed had to wait 2 hours before the procession came past. It was exceedingly beautiful and indeed

1838
ÆT. 19

[1] Of Hesse-Philippsthal.
[2], [3] In waiting on Princess Augusta Sophia.
[4] Afterwards King of Denmark (1863–1906).

1838 ÆT. 19

I think one of the finest parts of the spectacle. All the foreign Ambassadors, the various members of the Royal family, the Queen's attendants, and at last the Queen herself, had a most imposing effect. Some of the foreigners had most beautiful equipages, and of the Royal carriages I think my father's were the handsomest. My parents did not return till after six. . . . After dinner I walked all over London to see the illuminations, which were quite beautiful. At 11 there were some splendid fireworks in the Green Park and also in Hyde Park. We, of course, saw the former. Soon after 12, I went to a great full dress ball, given by the Duke of Wellington, and did not get to bed till near 3 o'clock.

Removal to Kew

September 5.—The only great event that has taken place since I last wrote is that we have all come down to Kew and settled here. The houses we occupy are very bad, but the place itself is very cheerful, and the distance to London being very short, that too is pleasant. . . . *7th.*— . . . To-day is the birthday of Louisa of Hesse[1]: God grant her every happiness and many happy returns of the day. We have always been very great friends, and I am exceedingly fond of her, so that I naturally take a double interest in everything that concerns her, dear little soul! They are at this moment at Strelitz, where my Aunt Lotte and Uncle William are also to go. I believe that Louisa will go back with her parents to Copenhagen and I hope that next year we may all meet safely and happily at Rumpenheim, the idea of which is, even at this moment, a great pleasure to me. . . . I am at this moment learning to drive four-in-hand of a morning before breakfast, and get on tolerably well.

The young Prince had entered the British Army as a colonel by brevet in November 1837, after his return to England from Hanover, and from the first he had displayed that conscientious devotion to duty which characterised the whole of his public life. But it was felt that the

[1] Afterwards Queen of Denmark, and mother of Her Majesty Queen Alexandra.

range of his experience could not too soon be extended, and accordingly arrangements were made for him to serve for a period on the Staff at Gibraltar. The prospect of parting from his family left him with a heavy heart. 1838 ÆT. 19

Diary, September 21.—To-day was the painful day of separation. However, to break it as much as possible, I started this evening and spent the morning quite as usual. I drove the four-in-hand first, and then after breakfast drove out again with my mother. After luncheon I rode out and took a long ride, riding little Hector, a charming little horse. Before dinner I packed up my little trifles and then we dined as usual. At 11.30, everything being ready, I took leave of my dear Parents and Sisters. It was a most painful moment, such a one as I shall never forget as long as I live, and I must confess I never suffered so much. The only hope is that in less than a year I shall have the great good pleasure of seeing them all again. God bless them all! Departure for Gibraltar

The journey to Falmouth, whence he was to sail, was uneventful. Stops were made on the 22nd at Salisbury and Exeter, 'where we had some tea and mutton chops,' and the port was reached at half-past one on the 23rd. 'The town is not pretty but clean, and the women are handsome.' At nine on the following day the port captain sent his boat to take them to the steam-vessel, and they were soon off. 'I felt low and very uncomfortable and laid down in my cabin, where I remained the whole day, without taking anything. There was a good swell when we were off the Lizard Point, so much so that even Colonel Cornwall was ill.' The vessel arrived off Vigo on the 26th. 'Here the Madrid mail is landed, and so the Lieutenant of the Navy in charge of it lands and delivers it over to the Vice-Consul. He offered to take me with him on shore, which I was too glad to do, and so I went with him and Colonel Cornwall to the Vice-Consul's house.

1838 Æt. 19 . . . After staying there for half an hour we returned to the ship, and were off again before 1 o'clock.' Of the passage up the Tagus he writes: 'The effect produced upon one in going up this noble river is truly grand. I should think it must be one of the finest streams in Europe. . . . We passed the English Squadron, which is now always lying there, and which at this moment only consists of the *Donegall*, a 74, the *Russell* 74, besides the *Tribune* and the *Scylla*, two 18-gun brigs all under the Command of Sir John Ommaney. Upon our arrival we sent a note to the *Donegall* to request that a boat might be sent for us, so that we might be allowed to land without having to go to the Custom House, which boat was accordingly sent and took us ashore immediately.' His Royal Highness lodged at the house of Mr. Smith, our Consul at Lisbon, who was then away in England.

Diary, 29*th*.—At 12 went in uniform to the Palace of the 'Necessidades,' where I was introduced to both the King and Queen, as Lord Culloden. Unfortunately, however, they sent a carriage for me in state, and so on, so that my *incognito* was entirely at an end. . . . The Queen is near her confinement. She hardly spoke one word. He has grown taller than he was, and is good looking, but unfortunately he has his hair so long that he looks almost more like a woman than a man. He spoke a good deal with me and was exceedingly good natured and kind, and I think glad to see me again. I stayed there about half an hour.

His Royal Highness dined at the Palace that evening in plain clothes at seven—'a private dinner, servants well dressed and dinner beautifully served.' The next few days were occupied with visits to Cintra, Mafra, Torres Vedras, and Caldas, where they stayed at a small inn, 'very uncomfortable, and the animals of every description, such as bugs, fleas, flies, &c. were so bad, that I did not undress at all, but lay down in my clothes.' At

Batalha 'we took up our quarters for the night at an old gentleman's house, who had been a recruiting commissary, and was a thorough Miguelite. He was a very fine old fellow and quite of the old school.' The return journey to Lisbon was broken for the night at Rio Maior, and from Villa Nova His Royal Highness was rowed to Lisbon in a Royal barge by twenty-four men, 'who did nothing but talk and make a noise.' After going to Court, 'not in uniform, in order to thank their Majesties for all their kindness to me,' Prince George embarked in the steamer *Tagus*, and reached Gibraltar on October 9. 'At about 7 A.M. Colonel Bridgeman, military secretary to the General, came off in a boat to ask at what hour I should wish to land, and we then settled to do so at 8 o'c. The General wished that I should come on shore in uniform, and so I put on my regimentals, and at eight a boat came off for me with Mr. Morret, the Governor's Aide-de-camp. When we landed there was a Guard of Honour of the 33rd Regiment to receive me and several of the principal officers of the Garrison. The Governor's carriage was waiting for me, and I got in with Colonel Cornwall and drove to the Convent, where I was very kindly received by Sir Alexander and Lady Woodford. I breakfasted with them, and then the General took me to my quarters. At 11 I went with him to what is called the "neutral ground," where the troops were drawn up in line, consisting of 5 Companies of Artillery, one of Sappers and Miners, and six Regiments of the Line, viz. the 33rd, 46th, 48th, 52nd, 81st and 82nd. . . . I dined in the evening at the Convent, where there was a large dinner, and I was introduced to several people, which is not the most amusing thing in the world.'

1838 ÆT. 19

Arrival at Gibraltar

Diary, 12*th*.—This morning, I went for the first time to the barracks of the 33rd to be drilled. I am to be attached for the present to that Regiment and learn my duty with them. They are a very nice Corps, and were the Duke of

1838 Æt. 19 Wellington's old Regiment in the East Indies. *13th.*—This morning we began by a Drill on the Almeda, of all the Regiments in the Garrison. Sir Alexander moved them about himself and did it uncommonly well, for the ground is very small and yet he contrived to do a great deal with 5 battalions.

The rest of the month and November were spent in the usual daily drills and shooting and hunting expeditions.

November 27.—To-day is the birthday of my dear little sister Mary. God bless the little darling. I am sure I wish her every blessing and happiness this world can offer. She is four years old to-day. I can hardly believe it, for it appears to me but yesterday that she was born; dear little Pussy, Heaven preserve the angel.

How anxious the father was that his son should make the most of his opportunities may be seen in the following letters written from England to Prince George:

Letters from the Duke of Cambridge

October 24, 1838.—My dearest George, we were all delighted the day before yesterday at the receipt of your letter from Gibraltar, which contained the welcome information that you had not suffered at all on your passage from Lisbon and that this time you really had enjoyed your voyage by sea. I was also very glad to hear that you were pleased with the house that General Woodford had got ready for you, and that you felt sensible of the attention he and Lady Woodford have shown you on your arrival. Sir Alexander writes me word that he is delighted at the manner in which you had received the officers of the garrison when they were presented to you, and that every one was pleased with you. This I mention to you, my dearest George, in the hope that this will encourage you to go on as you have begun. You are now beginning your military career, and I do not doubt that with proper application you will soon learn your duty under so experienced an officer as Sir Alexander Woodford. By your being placed on his Staff, you have the great advantage

of being employed in any way which he thinks is best for you, and which would not be the case if you were attached exclusively to one Regiment. During the time you are learning the Regimental duties, you will of necessity be commanded by officers who are of an inferior rank to the one you hold in the Army, and of course you will be bound to obey them. As soon, however, as you have got over these details, which will not detain you long if you apply yourself properly, the General will, I am sure, be happy to employ you, in a manner suitable to your rank in the Army. I feel very anxious to hear from you yourself how you are going on, and I wish that you would inform me from time to time of the progress you are making in learning the details of the Service. To-day we are going to Windsor to remain till Friday. . . . You will see by the Papers that Lord Durham has resigned. This of course will be a great annoyance to the Government, who, it is said, appointed him to this high situation in Canada to keep him away. I hear that Sir J. Colborne has promised to remain, which is undoubtedly a most fortunate thing. The Duke of Lucca, whom I think you saw last year at Berlin, is arrived and dined with us on Sunday last, and amused us much by his conversation. 1838 ÆT. 19

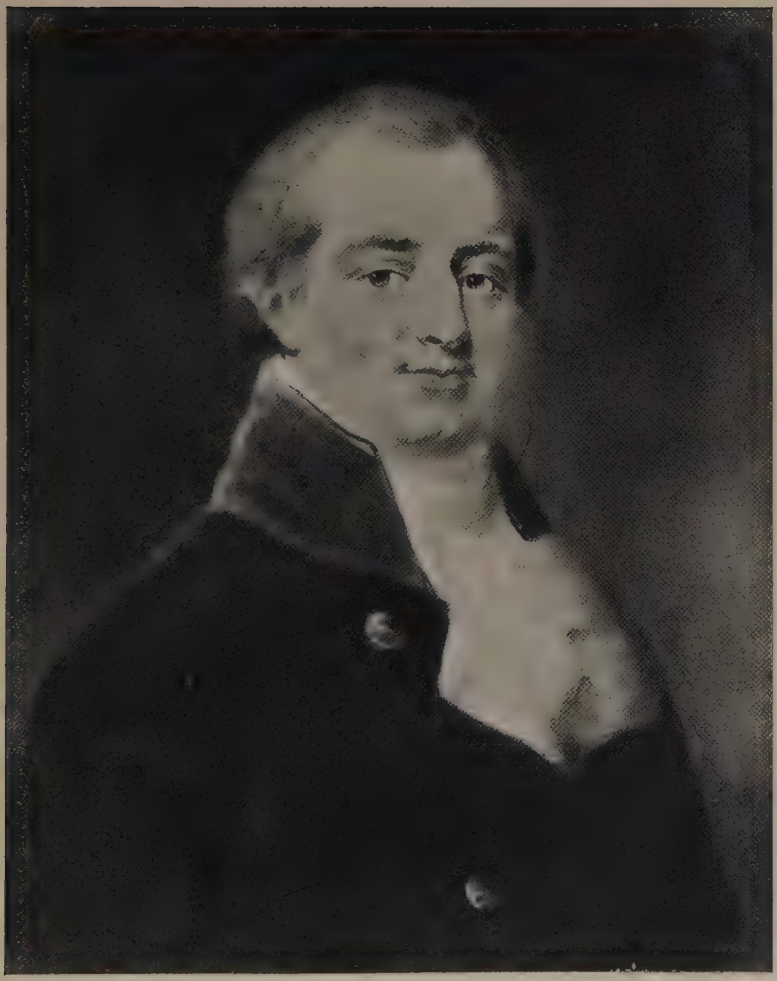
December 15.—Sir Alexander says that you have got through the company drill very much to the satisfaction of Colonel Knight, and that you are to act as Major. . . .

Writing some days later (December 22) of a party which he had attended at a Whig house, the Duke remarks that politics were not mentioned, and adds: 'While I am upon the subject I wish to draw your attention to the necessity of avoiding this topic unless you are sure of the company you are in. . . . In my opinion no soldier or sailor should have anything to do with politics. His duty is to obey the orders he receives from his superiors, be they Tories or be they Whigs. In saying this I do not, of course, mean that a man shall not have his own political opinion, but that he should keep it to himself as long as he is not

1838 Æt. 19 obliged to give it, which can hardly ever be the case in a garrison. . . .'

February 16, 1839.—It is now time for me to speak to you about your future plans and what would be best for you to do on your leaving Gibraltar. You are now of an age to be able to judge for yourself, at least to be able to say if you think that what is proposed will really be of use to you. The first consideration is, when it will be advisable for you to leave Gibraltar. My wish is, and I am sure your own good sense will tell you, that it would be a pity for you to give up the lessons you have with Major Hall till you have got through the course of studies he has proposed. You will have felt the disadvantage you have laboured under from having been obliged to give up your studies under Captain Müller, though I have heard with great satisfaction, my dear George, that you still remembered a good deal of what he had taught you. And therefore I am assured that you will find the advantage, and even I may add the necessity, of your not quitting Gibraltar till you feel that you have ended what you have begun. This I leave to you, to talk over with Cornwall and Sir Alexander Woodford, who will give you the best advice. On your leaving Gibraltar, I wish you to see everything that is most interesting in the Mediterranean, after you have been at Malta,—I mean Sicily, our possessions, or rather the Ionian Islands, parts of Greece, Constantinople. After that you would travel through Switzerland, and then I trust we shall be able to fix the spot where we shall meet you and where you will come to us. I have written on this subject to Sir Alexander Woodford and to Cornwall, so that they are quite *au fait* of my wishes. My sole object is that this journey should be of use to you and that you may derive, my dearest George, every benefit from it, which—if you profit by it—you will feel every day more and more the advantage of, the older you grow. After having said this I will add that your dear Mama fully agrees with me in everything I have written. . . .

The labours of Prince George's military duties at



H.R.H. ADOLPHUS FREDERICK, DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE, K.G.

(From a Portrait by Sir W. Beechey, R.A., in the possession of Rear-Admiral Sir Adolphus FitzGeorge, K.C.V.O.)

Gibraltar were lightened from time to time by short excursions to places of interest within easy reach of the 'Rock,' and in the course of these little trips His Royal Highness saw Ceuta, Tetuan, Tangier, Seville, Cadiz, and Granada. With so many preoccupations it is not surprising that the diary was somewhat neglected. 'I had got so far behindhand the other day,' he writes on January 1, 1839, 'that it was impossible for me to get in order again, and so I determined upon skipping over a part of last month, in which very little occurred in order to get right again. . . . I have now been away from home more than a quarter of a year! I hope that as for myself I shall improve during the present year in every respect and be the source of comfort to my father and mother and indeed to all my friends. The present season is one certainly particularly adapted for thought and for forming good resolutions. . . .' 1839 ÆT. 19

In the early spring the Prince had a sharp attack of measles, which laid him up for ten days, and was responsible for his subsequent baldness, for he lost his hair during the progress of the malady, and never afterwards recovered it. As the time approached for him to leave Gibraltar, an incident occurred which caused him some little disappointment. The story is told in the diary:

March 18.— . . . The officers of this Garrison had kindly intended as a mark of their esteem towards me to present me with a sword before my departure, and had given directions for its being made. A letter has just arrived from the Horse Guards requesting that this intention may be given up, as being contrary to a general order given out on the subject of presenting officers with public marks of esteem or favour by means of presents in 1810. Thus I am unfortunately deprived of this valuable gift. The compliment and kind intention of the Officers towards me remains the same, and I feel it deeply, but at the same A disappointment

1839 Æt. 19 time I must confess that I should have been glad of having the sword itself, which in after days would have reminded me in a most pleasing manner of my stay at Gibraltar, and of the good opinion of those with whom I have the honour of being associated. However the thing is now gone by, and nothing more will, I trust, be said about it. Lord FitzRoy Somerset's letter on the subject to the General is in every respect most flattering to me.

Of this incident the Duke, his father, writes :

The arrival of Lord FitzRoy Somerset's letter to Sir Alexander Woodford will have explained to you the reason why it was thought here better that you should not accept the sword which the officers of the garrison wished to present to you. It was the Duke of Wellington who first spoke to me on the subject, and he said that he thought it better that you should not accept it. My answer to him was, that the moment it was possible an unpleasant remark might be made upon those who had had the kind intention of proving their regard, I should be the first person to advise you to decline it. As, however, I had not heard if you were aware of the intention of the officers, I thought it better not to write to you by the last mail. That you, my dearest George, feel much gratified by the spontaneous attention of the officers, is very natural, and it is most satisfactory to your dear Mama as well as to myself, to see that you have made yourself so popular among your brother officers, who certainly would not have thought of offering you this mark of their regard and affection if they had not liked you. I can equally feel that the being obliged to decline accepting this sword must be a great disappointment to you, but you have the satisfaction of knowing the kind intention of the officers towards you, which after all is worth more than all the presents in the world. I shall be very anxious to hear when it is you leave Gibraltar and whether you expect the Queen [1] there, or are to pay her a visit at Malta. . . .

[1] Queen Adelaide.

Other letters there are at this period from the Duke to his son: 1839 Æt. 19

March 23.—Yesterday Gussy[1] was examined[2] for the last time, by the Bishop of London; he has been four times with her, and so well satisfied with her answers, that he only came yesterday at her request. To-day at 12 o'cl: she is to be confirmed, by the Archbishop at the Chapel Royal, and the Queen means to be present. I am happy to say that she is fully aware of the importance of the step she is taking, and I trust, with God's mercy, she will never forget it. Your Aunts Mary and Sophia were present yesterday, and the former will attend also at the Chapel Royal to-day. Unfortunately the latter, owing to her blindness, cannot be there. She is, in health, very tolerably well, but I grieve to say her eye is not improved. . . . The Duke of Sussex returned to town . . . in very good health. He has very wisely given up all Public Dinners, and, provided that he will stick to this, I have no doubt he will preserve his health. *I* have been a good deal engaged of late in presiding at Public Dinners, of which I have had two this last week, and I have eight still after Easter. They certainly are not agreeable, but I have had the satisfaction to receive the thanks of several of the Committees of the different Charities at whose Anniversary Dinners I had presided, for the exertions I had made on their behalf and which had been most useful to them in their results. This is of course the best reward I can receive, and as, thank God, my health does not suffer from these Dinners, I certainly do not regret the task I have undertaken.

April 27.—Captain Horton, who arrived by the *Braganza*, dined with us yesterday; of course he was much questioned about you, and I was delighted to hear, my dearest George, that you had made yourself very popular not only among the officers of the garrison, but also among all classes at Gibraltar. This you owe entirely to your own good conduct, and you may rest assured that in going on as you Æt. 20

[1] Prince George's sister.

[2] For Confirmation.

1839 Æt. 20 have hitherto done, you are giving the greatest satisfaction to your dear Mama and to myself, who have no greater object at heart than to see you loved and respected in the world.

May 9.—I feel great pleasure in assuring you, my dearest George, that nothing can be more satisfactory than the accounts I have received of you ever since you went to Gibraltar, and I am convinced that you must feel happy at the good name you have left there. Only continue as you have begun and depend upon it that you will make yourself friends wherever you go, and that the older you grow the more you will feel the advantage of your gaining the affection and respect of all those with whom you become acquainted.

Diary, March 26.—To-day is my birthday, and I am 20 years of age. However joyful a birthday may be, it also brings many serious reflections to one's mind and reminds one of one's duties, and the many faults of which one has been guilty. May God pardon me for these, and grant that in future I may improve in every respect by His blessing, and become a good man, doing my duty towards God, my family and friends and the world in general. How time does fly! To me it appears almost incredible that I should have already arrived at 20: such, however, is the case. . . . At 12 all the officers in command of regiments and heads of departments came to offer their congratulations, which I took as a great mark of attention and favour. 31*st*.—To-day I went to Church and took the Sacrament. This I had never done without some other member of my family being present, which of course I felt. God grant that I may have taken the Holy Sacrament worthily, though I know and feel that I am a poor sinner, and very frequently do that which I ought not to do. Still I rely upon the favour of a merciful Creator, who will forgive the sins of His poor repentant creatures. . . . *April* 10.—On Saturday (6th), I was field officer of the day, for the first time. 20*th*.—I was to-day Colonel of the day, an office which is seldom or ever filled in this garrison. As such, however, I had charge of both districts

with two field officers under me and commanded the parade. . . . I did not go the grand rounds during the night. 1839 ÆT. 20

Prince George's service on the Staff at Gibraltar closed on April 25. Up to this time the diary has been written entirely in English. From this point, however, it is written in German, and continues so till June 6. The reason for the change is given by His Royal Highness: Departure from Gibraltar

April 25.—I shall in future write this journal in German so that, should I go this summer to Rumpenheim, I may be able to read to my relations there the description of my journeys. . . . I breakfasted at 7 in the Convent and went on board at 8. All officers and civil officials accompanied me to the ship, and I confess honestly I said farewell to many with a heavy heart, for I had lived so long amongst them that I felt quite as belonging to them and very unwillingly parted from them, they had all been so friendly towards me. . . . After we had taken leave of the excellent Woodfords, to whom I can never be thankful enough for all their goodness to me, we sailed, accompanied by the salute of the fortress and of H.M. Ship *Wasp*. Our Boat, the *Actæon*, commanded by Lieutenant Kennedy, an excellent, worthy old man, is the best on this station and really a very good and fine ship. We had about 10 Passengers, all quiet pleasant people. 30*th*.—This morning at 2 o'cl: we reached Malta after a quick passage of not quite five days. At break of day the cannons of the town and the different ships fired. I, however, was not up to see it. . . . The view on the town and on the beautiful harbour with the superb warships made an extraordinary impression on me. At 9 o'cl: I landed and was received on the shore by Sir Henry Bouverie and a guard of honour. I live in the Palace, an enormous and very fine building, and have very pretty, large rooms,—the same the Queen[1] occupied. Sir Henry is a refined, amiable man, who pleases me very much. The admiral, Sir Robert Stopford, an excellent old gentleman, visited me, and then came all the

[1] Adelaide.

1839 ÆT. 20 ships' captains and staff officers. . . . The fortifications are enormously strong, and the houses all large and built of stone. One can well see in what luxury the old Knights lived! We visited St. John's Church, which is very beautiful and where all the Knights of Malta lie buried. Their tombstones are of the finest marble and their arms are sculptured upon them in various kinds of marble. The Armoury contains some quite remarkable pieces. At 7 we dined at home, a big dinner, after which I went to the Opera.

May 3.—This morning I was busy till 1¼, and then went with the Admiral on board the *Princess Charlotte*, his own ship, a three-decker of 110 guns commanded by Captain Fanshawe, then on board the *Vanguard*, Sir Thomas Fellowes, a ship of 74 guns. Both ships in the most splendid order, and I must own I have never seen anything more beautiful. On the first one we saw how the guns are worked, and I have never seen such precision. The *Vanguard* is a quite new ship built by Sir William Symons, and is said to sail much faster than any other; there is also more room in her. Then we went to inspection of the dockyard, which is not very big, yet much work goes on in it. . . . *4th.*—This morning after breakfast I rode out in uniform with the General who inspected the 47th. It all went off well and the men seemed very quietly to go through all the manœuvres. . . . We afterwards went to the barracks, which are very handsome and in beautiful order. . . . At 7 dined with the Officers of the 47th at their Mess. *5th.*—This morning after breakfast to Church, which is in the house, it is very small, and I cannot say very pretty, therefore it is a very good thing a new one is about to be built. . . . *6th.*—Not very well to-day, but it is nothing of consequence. There was to have been this morning an inspection of the 59th, but the weather was so dreadfully stormy it was put off; it was very unpleasant all day. . . . We dined at the Mess of the 59th, which is very good and we were very merry. It was over early and I went at once to bed. *7th.*—This morning after breakfast the 59th was inspected. It is a remarkably fine Corps and I might almost say it is the finest Line Regi-

ment that I have yet seen, the men are all very smart in their dress and fine strong fellows. Afterwards the barracks were visited, and we then came back, had luncheon, and then rode pretty far into the country, to a height whence we had a beautiful view over the surrounding country. From here one goes to St. Paul's Bay, where it is said the Apostle landed after he had been wrecked in the storm. . . . 8*th*.—To-day again an Inspection, of the 77th, also a fine Corps. Altogether it seems to me that the Garrison is extraordinarily good. Afterwards we visited the kitchens and barracks, and then home. After luncheon I played Rackets, an excellent ball game. At 7 dined at the Mess of the 77th, a fine Mess room and good Mess. Afterwards to a big Ball that the Garrison gave me, which was very pretty. It was a fine Room, but I cannot say that I saw many pretty faces! At 1 o'cl: to bed. 9*th*.—At 11 o'cl: this morning I went over the Ship *Asia* of 74 guns, also very fine but not so elegant as the two others. . . . We dined at home and among other guests had the Tripolitans who are here, on their way on a Mission to Paris and London. Two of them are handsome men, but the atrocious dress is greatly against their appearance. . . . 10*th*.—After breakfast to-day we went to the other side of the harbour to see the 92nd Highlanders who are quartered there. I had not before seen a Scottish Regiment and cannot express how agreeable an impression the beautiful garb made on me. I have never seen anything so beautiful, and they manœuvred admirably. We then visited their barracks and the Colonel, Macdonald, gave us a small luncheon; we only got back at 2 o'cl: In the evening dined at the Mess of the 92nd. 11*th*.—This morning at 10½, I rode with Cornwall, Lockhart, and Best to Citta Vecchia, 6 miles from here, and the former capital of the island. It lies well, but is a very desolate town. A fine Cathedral in which is a picture said to have been painted by St. Luke. We afterwards went into a grotto said to have been inhabited by St. Paul when he lived on the Island—but this I should think is very doubtful. It is a small and dark hole. We then went to the Catacombs,

1839 ÆT. 20

1839 Æt. 20 in which the early Christians were buried. 12*th*.— . . . We have now determined to go next Thursday by steamer to Corfu, as the Admiral has no Ship to offer me. 13*th*.— This morning we saw the Maltese Regiment, which looked and also manœuvred very well. I must say I was quite astonished at it, because the Regiment is so very detached that they can but very seldom exercise. We afterwards visited their barracks and kitchen, which are in the best order. . . . 14*th*.—This morning after breakfast I went with Cornwall to the Colonel of the Engineers, there to see the plans of the fortress. Malta is an extraordinarily strong place and the fortifications are superb, only too extensive, so that it costs too much money to keep them up in proper order. . . . 15*th*.—This morning I was several hours on the quay, to see the three War Ships from Corfu enter the harbour. It was a beautiful sight to see these three fine Ships arrive one after the other and gave one extraordinary pleasure. Two of them, the *Rodney* and the *Bellerophon*, had to anchor at the mouth of the harbour, but the *Talavera* sailed up the harbour. . . . 16*th*.—This morning at 12 the steamer from Gibraltar arrived, and brought me many letters and very good news from home. We also saw the Frigate *Castor* run in very prettily. After luncheon I occupied myself reading my letters and then packed my small *effets*. At 6 o'cl: I went, accompanied by Sir Henry Bouverie, on board the steamer *Hermes*, to sail in her to Corfu, and after I had taken leave of the Governor and thanked him for all his goodness to me, we sailed away under a salute from the fortress and the fleet, which was charming. . . .

Corfu

20*th*.—When I went on deck this morning I was extraordinarily surprised by the great beauty of the prospect, for although I had heard very much of Corfu, yet I had not anticipated so much of it! The Sea here looks like a beautiful lake, it is so surrounded with land on every side. On one side is the Island, on the other the coast of Albania with enormously high mountains. At 9 o'cl: I landed and was received by the High Commissioner with the Military and the Senate, as also by the Civil Officials.

1839
ÆT. 20

I went at once to the Castle which lies quite near the Walls and here all these gentlemen were presented to me. Afterwards I breakfasted and then went to my room till luncheon, after which I rode with Sir Howard[1] and Lady Douglas and was quite enchanted with the lovely country. The Island is very hilly and extraordinarily green, as it is everywhere covered with Vines and Olive trees and the green of these plants is soothing to the eyes after the endless rocks we have been seeing latterly. The roads for driving and riding are capital and are still being improved day by day. The villages all lie charmingly. The language of the people is Greek, and so is their dress, but the upper classes almost all speak Italian. We only came back in time for dinner and had a big one and after it a *Soirée.* I live in the Castle with Sir Howard Douglas and have quite charming rooms. *21st.*—This morning I remained at home till after luncheon, having very much to do. I also read the newspapers, in which I found a great deal of news. The most important is in a Venetian one, but it is so clearly put that it would seem to be true. This is that there they have *par Estafette* received the news that the English Government have resigned. Nothing further was known. God knows what will now happen and who can form a new Government! In the *Galignani* it is stated that the Russian Cesarevitch has arrived in England, of which I am very glad, and also Prince Henry of Orange. The Belgian affair is at an end, as all the Powers, even also Belgium, have signed. Eight new Peers have been created in England, but I, however, do not personally know any of them. The Speaker of the Commons[2] has resigned. Disturbances are expected in the country, thro' Chartists who are gradually getting excited. All this is very interesting. . . . *24th.*—To-day is the Queen's birthday, may Heaven pour upon her all that is good on earth, and may she make the beautiful and great country she governs happy! We

[1] Lieut.-General Sir Howard Douglas, Bart., K.C.B., G.C.M.G, High Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief in the Ionian Islands from 1835 till 1840.

[2] James Abercromby, created Baron Dunfermline.

1839 Æt. 20 had an extraordinarily fatiguing day. At 11 o'cl: first a large Levee, which was very numerously attended. All the presidents of villages, called Primates, come on this occasion to the town, then also the Greek Bishop, a very handsome old man, and all the clergy, who look very peculiar and remarkable, with long hair. Also the Students and Professors, as all the Military and Civil Officials, made their bow. At 12 Salutes were fired from the Ships and Citadel, and we had a great Parade, at which the Rifles, three Companies of the 5th Regt., which are quartered at Vido and employed on the Works there, the 53rd and 2nd battalion of the 60th Rifles, were present. First a *feu de joie* was fired, and then followed a very pretty little manœuvre. The troops looked most uncommonly well and I must say they are all fine Regiments. Now all was over and I quickly closed my letters as the steamer was to sail at 5. At 4 I rode with Sir Howard to his so-called country house, a pretty place, which, however, he never inhabits, and also to the so-called One Gun Battery, an old French Work. Immediately under it lies a little island called Ulysses Island, because it is said that Ulysses was there shipwrecked with his vessel. Also quite near it are the ruins of an old heathen Temple, but of what period is quite uncertain. At 7 I dined with the Officers' corps of the 60th—there are some charming people among them. At 10 a great Ball at home, in honour of the day, and it lasted till 3 in the morning. The Primates also were present and danced their National Dance, which is not exactly very gay, but of a very peculiar character. At 12 there was a great Supper, at which many healths were drunk, and mine also was very kindly greeted. It was all very well and handsomely done. 26*th*.—This morning I only went at 11 to church—which is not particularly pretty. —— preached, but I cannot say it was very good. He, however, is widely reputed as a very worthy man. Church was over at 1, and I paid visits to the President of the Senate, and to Sir George Berkeley.[1] I was astounded to see that the former, who holds such a high and important

[1] Major-General Sir G. H. F. Berkeley, K.C.B.

Post here, is so ill lodged! At 2 we rode to a little village about 6 English miles from here, to see there a Festa, or holy *fête*. There were a very large number of people there, all in their best clothes. The women have a very peculiar old-fashioned costume, which is very handsome, their dresses are mostly of velvet or silk and have a golden trimming on them, on their shoes they have great buckles, and are all hung over with rings, and covered with all kinds of jewellery. A little chapel stands quite close to the assembling place and all the people first went in procession to kiss the holy pictures in it. Afterwards they danced, in fact it is quite like a *Jahrmarkt*.[1] The dance is very peculiar—a few men dance forward, and then the women follow in a great circle, each one holding the pocket handkerchief of her neighbour; a violin plays to it, and I must confess it all seemed to me very monotonous. I saw a good many pretty, I may say handsome, faces. We only got back at 6. After dinner Prayers were read, and so ended the evening. *27th*.—To-day we had a most delightful expedition to the Albanian Coast. Our company consisted of Sir Howard Douglas and his son Captain Douglas, Colonel Ellice of the Rifles, Major Markham of the Jägers, Major Phillips of the 53rd, Sir George Berkeley, and his A.D.C., Captain Rumley, Mr. Ramsey, Commissary-General, Captain Codrington, Mr. Forbes, Sir Howard's A.D.C., Colonel Cornwall, and my small self. We went off from here in the morning at 9, some in a boat and the rest in Sir Howard's yacht, Codrington had gone over the previous evening in the *Talbot*. It was a divine day, and not too hot. In two hours we reached the opposite coast and there went up a little stream which connects a little lake with the Sea. A little way up this stream is an old Fort, where are some Turkish troops who look quite wretched. We stopped here, and conversed with them. We also had to sit down and smoke a pipe with them and drink coffee. It was a funny scene and amused me exceedingly. The whole time we might not touch any one or we should have had to be in quarantine, also we had two 'guardians'

1839
ÆT. 20

[1] A fair.

1839 Æt. 20

with us, a sort of Quarantine police. Among these people we saw two English deserters in Turkish garb, both miserable objects! One of them belonged to the 60th Rifles and is quite a young fellow, he spoke with us and seemed very much to wish to return to us, as he fares very badly where he is. The other one was in the 5th. After over half an hour we went on to the lake, which is quite divine! The lake itself is very large and is encircled by the most beautiful hills, which are covered with low scrub; the shooting in this district is said to be excellent. We sailed round about here a short hour and then returned down the river; on the way we stopped again at the Fort. After we had seen the inside of the house, which was wretched, we went on, and went on board the *Talbot*, where we found an excellent luncheon and soon devoured it! After which we sailed back in the *Talbot* and were home at 6½, dressed directly and dined with the Artillery and Engineers' Officers. 29*th*.—To-day also we were much occupied and made another trip to the Albanian Coast. First, after breakfast, we went on board the *Talbot*, to see the Ship fire at a target. I own I was quite astonished how admirably they fired! . . . To-morrow we are off to Athens and to the other Ionian Islands. 30*th*. — All this morning I watched a match at Rackets between the Officers of the Man-of-War *Talbot* and the Garrison, which was wonderfully good, but the Garrison was beaten. In the evening a small dinner, and at 10 I embarked in an Ionian steamer, commanded by Captain Galvazo, a very entertaining Italian, and at once sailed, after thanking excellent Sir Howard very much.

31*st*.—At waking this morning we found ourselves quietly at anchor, by the Island of Santa Maura, and as soon as I had dressed and breakfasted, the interim Resident, Captain Fitzgerald of the 1st batt. of the 60th, came on board to see me and to visit with me the ruins of the ancient town of Nicopolis, which lies on the Turkish part of the Continent and which was built by Augustus after the battle of Actium as a monument of his victory over Mark Anthony. Accompanied by a Lieutenant Butler and

Dr. Morris of the 60th and by the Director of Police, we went off again about 6 miles, and as our old Captain was afraid on any account of going nearer in shore, we had to row in a boat some miles, to land at the town of Prevesa; in this cruise I was very seasick. Here we took a guide, and a 'guardian' we had brought with us, as we were not allowed to touch anyone without going in Quarantine. After an enormous walk of 7 miles we reached Nicopolis, the ruins of which are very plainly to be seen, the best of them are the walls of the town, two still very perfect, the Theatre, a very large one, and Roman baths. It must have been a very large town, and the site is beautifully chosen. We then resumed our tour homewards, and at 4 o'cl: reached the house of the Consul. Here was the Turkish Governor, who made me his bow, and immediately after we returned to our boat, and under a Salute rowed back to our Steamer. We reached her at last with much trouble, as the wind was very strong against us. The gentlemen dined, but I and another waited till we were quietly back in the harbour of Santa Maura. Colonel Cornwall went ashore to see a Cyclopic Wall. I landed at 7, under a Salute, and examined the Fort, in which are quartered 100 Infantry and 24 Artillery and which is very strong. I then went in a boat up a Canal which joins the town to the Fort, on each side is a dam, and the whole is very remarkable. The town is not large and extremely ugly, the houses are all of wood and very low, on account of the frequent earthquakes. At 8¼ we returned on board and after I had thanked all the gentlemen for their civilities we at once sailed away. 1839 ÆT. 20

June 1.—After a quiet night we found ourselves this morning in the bay of Samos in the Island of Cephalonia, opposite to Ithaca. I got up early, and at 8 o'cl: Colonel Sutherland of the 5th came on board, who is the Resident here and was accompanied by a Regent, or Civil Governor, who is an Ionian. At 10 we went ashore, and accompanied by several gentlemen, officials, we ascended a hill, where many sepulchres of the ancient Greeks are found. The chief object of my visit here was to find some of these,

1839 ÆT. 20

so we set 40 men to work, to gain this object, and in the course of the day we did find some few and opened them, but we found only some bones, and a few jars and coins. . . . I also inspected a portion of a Cyclopic wall which is most remarkable. It is wonderful and almost inconceivable how it was possible for the Ancients to build these walls of the most enormous stones, which had to be brought from far and which are so large and heavy that we now have the greatest possible trouble to move them! . . . In the evening we sailed again. *2nd.*—After a night in which I did not sleep very well, I got up at 7 and found we were at Patras. Close by us lay a Russian Man-of-War, a Schooner of 18 guns which seemed an extraordinarily fine ship. The Governor of Patras visited me, and was bent on giving me a reception, which, however, I begged to be let off! The English Consul and the Vice Consul came also and with them I went ashore. There is nothing to be seen in the town, which is small and insignificant. . . . We returned at 12 and sailed away, up the Gulf of Lepanto. . . . At 4 o'cl: we anchored in the bay of Salona; then dined, and went ashore for an hour. This is a little village, but the mountainous country close around is quite magnificent. *3rd.*—We had a very fatiguing day. Got up at 6 and went ashore at 7. There were peasants' horses ready, with pack saddles, on which we mounted to ride to Delphi; besides 'my insignificance' and Colonel Cornwall we had with us also a Greek servant, whom we had taken in Corfu to accompany us on this journey and to arrange all for us. He seems to be a good, very useful fellow and all Englishmen with whom he has travelled recommend him highly. Three Greeks, to whom the horses belong, accompanied us on foot. It was a very long ride, but very pretty, but the roads were atrocious, yet the horses went very well indeed. We rode through the pretty village, Christos; on both sides the mountains are quite superb. About 11 we reached Delphi, a little tiny village, and close by are the ruins, unfortunately not much of them remain. They show the spot where the Temple of Apollo was, whence chiefly the world was governed through the celebrated

Delphic Oracle—but there remain only a wall or two of it. There are many tombs to be seen and in one which we narrowly examined place was arranged for three persons, and cut out of the rock at one end lay a stone kind of cushion on which probably the head rested; the sarcophagus was mostly of marble, with figures hewn out on it, and is more celebrated than in truth it deserves. A fountain next to a large bath is still very perfect—it is asserted that it is there the Priestess used to wash before going into the Temple to proclaim the Oracle and the water of the spring inspired her with the god's ideas. There are also to be seen the ruins of a great Theatre, where probably the Sacred Games were held. We sat down by the famed fountain to have our luncheon and drank of its water, but alas! remained uninspired. Afterwards we went up again, another high hill, on the very worst road I ever in all my life have ridden along. The last part of it we had to do on foot, or rather we had to crawl between the rocks, and as the day was very hot, it was really a piece of hard work. Arrived at length, however, we were much rewarded by the sight of one of the most splendid caves in the rock, the finest I have ever seen. Three thousand Greeks, in the war with the Turks, fled thither and lived a long time in it. The top forms a natural arch, which is not supported in the centre by any stone column but only at the sides. Refreshed by frequent quenchings of thirst in the various little springs of water by the way, we returned at 7 o'cl: to the ship, very content with our work of the day and with all we had seen. 1839 ÆT. 20

4th.—This morning again I got up early and breakfasted at 7. We had sailed from Salona in the night and had reached Lutraki, the harbour on the one side of the Isthmus of Corinth. Here we said adieu to our good old Captain Galvazo, thanked him, and went on shore. The kindness of Sir Howard to lend me a steamer was unutterably great, as without that I must have gone all around the Morea and should have seen nothing of the Gulf of Corinth; the Boat was in every way convenient and pleasant. Only one unpleasantness we had, and that was that

1839 Æt. 20 we could not sleep at night because of certain little animals!! On shore we found a Royal one-horse vehicle awaiting us and an officer of *Gendarmerie* with some men to accompany me. William with the luggage went direct to Kalamaki, the harbour on the other side of the Isthmus, we on the contrary drove to Corinth, on tolerably good roads, but yet the thing jolted tremendously and I must confess it reminded me of the cars on which the Post in Germany is very often driven. On the way we saw the spot where the Romans tried to cut through the Isthmus, and the Walls that were built to resist the attacks from the Sea. In Corinth we got out at the house of a private individual, and accompanied by our little officer, a quiet nice little man, and by the Governor of the Province, who received me, I went to see the curiosities of the town, which, *du reste*, are not of much importance. One Temple is still partially visible, at least 7 columns of it are still standing, which have the peculiarity of consisting of one stone. Some aqueducts, a natural Grotto, a Theatre, the Walls of the old town, are the rest of the objects. . . . When the horses had rested, we drove on in the same way, only the roads were better. We saw the place where probably the Isthmian Games were held, and a very large Temple. At 2 o'cl: we were at Kalamaki, where we found a little schooner and two boats of the Man-of-War *Beacon*, which Sir Edmund Lyons had sent for me; this Ship has been already several years on the Greek Coasts, to learn them very accurately, as hitherto they were very little known. William had already arrived, so we went at once on board. Lieutenant Graves, the commander of the ship, his friend, a young Mr. Dixon, and two other officers, made up our company. The ship was certainly small, but the cabin was neat and nice, and we had a very good little dinner. The wind at first was favourable, but soon left us, and instead of reaching the Piræus in 5 hours, we only got there at 2 o'cl: in the night. We had however amused ourselves very well, drank tea, talked, slept, laughed and smoked. When we arrived Lieutenant Graves was so

amiable as to take us on board the *Beacon*, where I slept excellently well through the night. 1839 Æt. 20

5*th*.— . . . Sir Edmund Lyons, the English Ambassador, and Mr. Green, the Consul, came on board to receive me and the former is so kind as to put me up in his house. The King sent to offer me his Palace, horses, etc. . . . etc. . . . and many gentlemen came to receive me. It cost a good deal of trouble, thankfully to decline all this! But after long discussions at length we succeeded in getting quit of it all. At 11 we went ashore, and I drove with Sir Edmund to Athens, where he has a charming house. The new town is larger and better built than I expected, but there are no regular streets. It was very hot, so I remained all the morning at home and read the newspapers, which are full of interest. The English Government had resigned and Sir Robert Peel received the commission to form a new one, which, however, alas! failed because the Queen would not consent that some of her Ladies should be removed. In consequence the Melbourne administration has returned. I am unutterably sorry for this, and God only knows what now will happen. I hope for the best, and think that this Ministry will not long hold together. In Paris there was a revolution, in which some hundred people were shot, but all is again quiet there. We dined to-day at 4 and then drove to the Acropolis, which pleased me immensely. The ruins of the far-famed Temple, the Parthenon, are the most beautiful thing I have yet seen in all my journey. Unfortunately a great deal of it has been despoiled in the time of the Turks, but still enough is standing for one to see what a splendid and magnificent building this must have been. Large numbers of curiosities of all kinds are daily found here, and they are now occupied in making extensive excavations, to seek for more. A Mr. Pittakys who conducts all these, a clever agreeable man, showed us all these wonders. Very lovely is the little Temple of Victory that has been only recently found. The ruins of a Theatre are exceedingly fine, and it must have been very beautiful. The best friezes of the Temple Lord Elgin carried to England and they are at this moment

1839 ÆT. 20 in the British Museum. . . . 6*th*.—I stayed all the morning at home and was much occupied writing letters, as the English Post goes out to-day. We dined at 4, and then visited the Temple of Theseus, which is still very perfect, and which now is used as a sort of Museum where many very distinguished things are preserved. We then went to the former place of Assembly of the People where the Council of the People of the Athenians met and governed the World. Here it was where Demosthenes and the great orators held their discourses. One can still quite plainly see the stone rostrum that served for this purpose. Then we went to the spot where St. Paul addressed the Athenians, as we read in the 17th Chapter of the Acts of the Apostles. This place is a hill on the rock of the Acropolis, just opposite. Then we went again to the Temple of Jupiter Olympius, built in the time of Agrippa, 16 very high and very fine columns are still standing. The remaining 300 were pulled down by the Turks to build the walls of the town with! The whole was of white marble. At 9 o'cl: we came home, and I went early to bed.

(*From the Duke of Cambridge to Prince George*)

June 18.—I heard yesterday from Sir Henry Bouverie, expressing the general satisfaction your short stay at Malta had given everybody there, and the general regret that you had left it so soon. You will readily believe, my dearest George, the delight I feel at mentioning this to you, and I do this with the more pleasure as I flatter myself, indeed I believe, that this will encourage you to go on as you have hitherto done. . . .

(*From Prince Albert to Prince George's Father*)

Coburg, December 13, 1839.

Most Gracious Duke,—The numerous proofs of goodwill hitherto shown me by your Royal Highness, as well as by the gracious Duchess, enable me to appreciate still more intensely the good fortune that has befallen me of henceforth belonging more closely to the English Royal

Family. While I now present myself to your Royal Highness as a happy bridegroom I beg most earnestly for the continuance as well of your gracious and kindly feelings as of those of her Royal Highness the Duchess—the family love and friendship which unite your Royal Highness with your illustrious niece, my exalted bride, are my surety for not making any mistakes. May it be given to me to succeed in attaining my most ardent wish, my firmest intention, to make my dearly beloved as happy as she deserves to be, and as all those who have her welfare at heart would wish. Pray have the goodness to commend me to the Duchess, as well as to all the family. I hope soon to have the happiness of seeing all as well as possible and to be able by word of mouth to assure your Royal Highness how sincerely I shall for ever remain,

1839
ÆT. 20

Your obedient servant and nephew,

ALBERT,

Prince of Saxe-Coburg Gotha.

CHAPTER IV

DUBLIN

1839–1850

England once more—First railway journey—The Queen's marriage—Letters from the Duke of Wellington—From the Prince Consort—Arrival in Dublin—Famine—M. Soyer's soup kitchen—The revolutionary movement—Anxiety in Ireland—Chartism—England as an example to the world—The arrest of Smith O'Brien—The Queen's visit to Ireland—Cholera in Dublin—Louis Napoleon—Death of Queen Adelaide—From son to father—Absurd rumours from Greece—Church and State

1839
Æt. 20
Return to England

AFTER travelling on the Continent for some months, Prince George returned to England and joined the family circle at Kew in November 1839. A small supplementary diary contains the record of the closing days of the year and of the early months of 1840. It tells of quiet drives 'with Mama' or 'with Augusta' in their pony chaise, of simple family dinners followed by 'playing at lotto' or by music, and of occasional visits to town 'with Papa to get a horse for my cab' or 'to see my Aunts.' The entry of November 28 describes what was apparently Prince George's first railway journey. 'Breakfasted at 7,' he writes, 'left at 7½ for Euston Square to go with the Railroad to Rugby; went with my Father in his carriage, the servants, etc., in mine.'[1] The journey His Royal Highness found 'not at all disagreeable,' and Rugby was reached soon after twelve.

[1] In the early days of the railway the nobility and gentry did not travel in railway carriages, but in their own carriages, which were fastened on trucks attached to the train.

The following extracts from the diary are of interest: 1839 Æt. 20

December 15.—After dinner Papa got a letter from the young Queen, in which she announces her marriage with Prince Albert of Coburg. Nothing could have given me greater pleasure than this intelligence. I hope it may prove a happy union both to herself and to the Country in general. 18*th*.—The Queen, having settled to see me at Windsor to-day, Papa, Mama and Augusta determined to accompany me, and accordingly we left Kew at 11 o.c. and reached the Castle at 1. We were received as usual and taken into the Green Drawing Room, where the Queen received me most kindly. I think she is looking well. We offered our congratulations on the approaching marriage, and they all talked a good deal about it.

January 19, 1840.—I went down to White's Club. 1840 Æt. 20 They have elected me a member and I went into the room there for the first time and saw a great many of my friends. I am exceedingly glad that I belong to this Club, as it is a very good one, and a great many of my friends belong to it, and it is a place to which I can always go and where I can dine if I like.

February 15.—The Queen's marriage on February 10 went The Queen's marriage off well. The Duke of Coburg came over with his two sons, Prince Albert is very good looking and appears a very nice person in every respect. The Queen was married at the Chapel Royal at 12 in the day, and we all attended in State, and walked in procession from the State Apartments to the Church. After the Ceremony there was a great breakfast at Buckingham Palace to which we went, and then the young couple went to Windsor, where they were to stay till yesterday and then return to town. We, the family, went to dine with the Queen Dowager and afterwards I walked out for a short time to see the illuminations, which was exceedingly good fun, there being an immense crowd of people in the streets! I concluded this long day by going to a full dress party at the Duchess of Sutherland's, which was a very handsome thing altogether.

Of the years that follow we have, unfortunately, no

record from the pen of Prince George, for the diaries from 1840 to 1849 are missing. This break in the continuity of the written word is much to be deplored, for of all the stirring events which crowded the opening years of Queen Victoria's reign the Prince was a keen and critical observer, and in one at least, the Young Ireland movement, he had to play no insignificant part. Throughout those earlier days, too, when famine and pestilence stalked hand-in-hand through Ireland, overwhelming the people in disaster, Prince George was at his post in Dublin, quick to sympathise and ready to help so far as the trammels of his official position permitted intervention. But if diaries are absent, there is fortunately a considerable mass of correspondence which throws many side lights on some at any rate of the leading features of the period, and serves to illustrate the growth of the Prince's character.

Before giving a selection from these letters, however, it will be well to state in brief outline the salient events of His Royal Highness's career during the period under consideration. In December 1839 he was attached to the 12th Lancers, and after joining the regiment at Brighton in the spring of the following year, he did duty with it for two years, the greater portion of which was spent in Ireland. While in command of the 17th Light Dragoons he took a prominent part in suppressing the riots in the manufacturing districts in 1842, and in September of 1843 he joined the Staff in the Ionian Islands, remaining there for two years. After being promoted to the rank of Major-General he was, at the age of twenty-seven, appointed to the command of the Dublin District, and he retained this command for five and a half years until 1852, when he became Inspector-General of Cavalry, a post which he held until February 1854.

(*From the Duke of Wellington to Prince George*) 1842

Walmer Castle, August 29, 1842.—Sir, I have the Æt. 23 pleasure of informing your Royal Highness that I have this morning received a note from Her Majesty the Queen dated Windsor Castle, the 28th inst., in which Her Majesty has been pleased graciously to approve of your Royal Highness quitting the kingdom to attend the Reviews and Field Operations of the Prussian Army on the Rhine, which is submitted to Your Royal Highness by

Your Royal Highness's most devoted servant,

WELLINGTON.

I repeat my proposition that Your Royal Highness should do me the honour of dining and sleeping here if you should embark at Dover. I have means of taking in any gentleman who may attend your Royal Highness on this occasion.

London, June 1, 1844.—Sir, Your Royal Highness will 1844 be informed that Her Majesty intends that His Imperial Æt. 25 Majesty the Emperor of Russia, and His Majesty the King of Saxony should see some of Her Majesty's Troops under Arms at Windsor on Wednesday morning next.

The General Officers and Staff are to appear in full dress, the Ribbands over their Coats. The Field Marshals to wear white Breeches : and Jack or High Boots, and it is the intention of Prince Albert as well as of myself to appear on this occasion in the Ribband of the Order of St. Andrew, the Russian Order. It is the Queen's wish that the Colonels of the several Regiments which will march past in Parade order should pass and salute the Emperor at the Head of their several Regiments, although dressed in the uniform of General Officers.

I believe that this is all the information that I have to give your Royal Highness besides that which you will receive from this Office.

I have the honour to be with the highest consideration and respect,

Your Royal Highness's most devoted servant,

WELLINGTON.

1844
Æt. 25

(*From the Prince Consort to Prince George*)

Windsor Castle, Aug. 27, 1844.—The Christening [1] is to take place in the evening, full dress, and we hope to see you and the Duchess, Augusta and Fritz, here for one night. Pray consider this as the invitation. . . .

(*From Prince George to his Mother, the Duchess of Cambridge*)

1846
Æt. 25

Arrival in Dublin

Dublin, January 18, 1846.—It was certainly with a very heavy heart that I parted from you the other day, but be assured I come here with good courage and will do my very utmost to show they may have confidence in me. All that I ask in return is that they also may show some wish to fulfil my wishes. Therefore, should Brotherton's [2] post fall vacant I hope then they would not pass me over for that would hurt me very much. I hope now, my dearest mother, that you will place real trust in me, for truly now I am of an age when a son may expect this and you may indeed be assured, my dear mother, that you shall never have cause to repent such trust. I only arrived here this morning. . . .

Writing again from Dublin to his mother of the opening of Parliament, he says :

January 19, 1846.—I am very anxious to hear what will now happen, for it is an important and difficult moment. The more I think of it the more I regret that I am not in Parliament. It would be exactly what would suit me, for you know that I take very great interest in all that goes on. Also I am firmly persuaded it would give me a much better position in the country and more weight, which at present, of course, I have not. I, therefore, do not agree with the objections of my Aunt, the Duchess of Gloucester, as I should be very careful not to take any strong partisan

[1] This refers to the baptism of H.R.H. the late Prince Alfred Ernest Albert, Duke of Edinburgh, and Earl of Kent and of Ulster, second son of her late Majesty Queen Victoria. Born August 6, 1844 ; died July 30, 1900.

[2] The general officer in command of the cavalry in Ireland.

attitude with any party, but it is that I feel in that way I should have a voice in the affairs of this great country. It is really very much to be considered, and I wish you would tell me your opinion in regard to it. I think in the end you will agree with me. I am now in that curious position that I am nothing at all ; but that would give me a position, and since I am, as you know, a true Englishman at heart, it would be most agreeable to me. . . . As yet I know very little of my garrison here, but gradually I shall come to know them. To-day I have had the Cavalry and Artillery out. The day after to-morrow I shall see the Infantry. 1846 ÆT. 26

M. Soyer's soup kitchen

At the time of the famine in Ireland when the misery of the people touched 'even the heart of the Turk at the far Dardanelles, and he sent her in pity the alms of a beggar,' and when contributions were pouring in from England, the United States, and almost every country, including Turkey, the Government made themselves not a little ridiculous by the foolish pomp with which they opened a public soup kitchen in which M. Soyer, a fashionable French cook, demonstrated what excellent soup could be made from the cheapest materials. Writing of this experiment to his mother, after suggesting economies in large households for the benefit of the poor, Prince George says :

1847 Æt. 27

March 13, 1847.—M. Soyer's journey hither is somewhat of an absurdity, the expenses of his kitchen are too great, although its arrangement is certainly useful, yet altogether the idea is repugnant to me that a French cook should make good the want of means of a Government ; that is very low form. I have seen the great hero, and he tells me he sent an *échantillon* of his soup to Cambridge House to be tasted. Pray do tell me what did you think of it. Meanwhile famine and need continue their dreary sway, and I much fear pestilence will follow. Poverty and the numbers of the dead so increase there is scarce time to bury the latter, which must lead to terrible fever, if something is not soon done and measures taken to check this . . .

1847 Æt. 27 *March* 21.—M. Soyer is still here and very busy putting up his kitchen exactly in front of my house. . . . Heaven knows whether it will answer—I doubt it. So! You say the soup tasted quite good.

Æt. 2 *March* 26.—I have now M. Soyer with his soup kitchen right under my nose, which he has built up as a model and for a trial. It is to be opened to-morrow. . . . I regret to hear that illness is sadly increasing throughout the country.

April 7.—Yesterday M. Soyer opened his kitchen, which is very prettily arranged and has many advantages, but as to whether it is suitable for the object for which it has been erected, of that I am extremely doubtful.

April 12.—O'Connell's [1] funeral is over. I saw it from my windows. It was a very long procession and a most enormous concourse of people. All the time fearful pouring rain, but the people very orderly and quiet.

September 1.— . . . Sir Edward Blakeney [2] is away in the country and I am alone here. Dublin is very empty and very dull. . . . In the mornings one is always occupied, but the solitary evenings one does not know what to do with oneself. However, I occupy myself very much with all sorts of military affairs, and thus get some experience and hope that anyhow time is not wasted. It is certain that in this way Dublin has many advantages for me, and I also think that thus an opening may be found for me in a post that will call me to England. Such at least is my aim and wish.

1848 *January* 17.— . . . How pleasant it could be had I but occupation in your neighbourhood; and that such could be found if the Horse Guards were really well disposed towards me, of that I am fully persuaded. Often, often I regret not being in Parliament! That would be of greatest interest to me, and I literally pine for it. . . .

The revolutionary movement

The year 1848 was one of revolution. Everywhere throughout Europe the fires of discontent were smouldering,

[1] The leader of the Repeal agitation.
[2] Commander-in-Chief in Ireland.

and it needed only the fall and flight of Louis Philippe to make them burst out into sudden flame. It was on the Continent that the revolutionary spirit made itself felt most severely, but England did not go unscathed, for there Chartism was encouraged to make its last abortive effort, and in Ireland the disaffection of the 'Confederates' drifted into open rebellion, and the Young Irelanders fought their brief and inglorious fight in the cabbage-garden at Ballingarry. Of this period Prince George writes to his mother: 1848 Æt. 28

March 15.— . . . The news from Germany is at this time not pleasant, and unfortunately the Princes are now forced to do what they would have done very much better to have voluntarily yielded long ago. I am not at all for giving way in everything, and in the way it is now being done, certainly not, but to set one's self sharply against all changes that time brings—that does not do at all, and causes eventually much misfortune. Prussia, it seems, has given absolute liberty to the Press. It was perhaps wiser than to be forced to do it later. Thank God, England again shows a fine loyal feeling, that is noble and beautiful and quite what I should have expected of her, and you will see and can rest assured that we in England with all our freedom shall show ourselves far nobler and more aristocratic than all the other countries.

April 3.— . . . Here also we are on the point of revolution, though I do not believe it will come. My position is difficult and anxious. I have so much to do that I scarce know how to get through it, but up to now all goes well, and I think our dispositions which are very extensive will in case of need prove efficacious. I do my utmost—more I cannot do. The troops are faithful, true and good, that is certain, and I think we shall easily subdue the ill-disposed. Everything depends upon the first moment. The people are arming in all directions. Horrible pikes are made, rifles sold; altogether Dublin at present is as unpleasant as possible, and I shall be well pleased when it is well got over. Yet I Æt. 29

1848 Æt. 29 am of good hope and in good spirits. Only very hard-worked and very tired at this moment.

April 10.— . . . Most hearty thanks for your last two letters and for the enclosures from Louise.[1] How I pity her, poor thing; truly she is in a dreadful position with her four poor little children. God grant no ill may befall Christian[2]; he is such a thorough good fellow. Here we are still in a very unpleasant position. The people are very discontented, and the very smallest circumstance could cause an explosion, all eyes are turned to London, and everything depends upon how matters have gone there to-day.[3] God grant all may have gone off smoothly, and I confess that is what I fully expect has been the case, as there the whole of the upper and middle classes are opposed to revolution. Here, on the contrary, it is quite a different thing, for the middle class is opposed to the Government, and that is the worst part of it. How dreadful is everything in Germany. I am much afraid that there Republican principles have very much the upper hand. In to-day's expected Chartist disturbance I hear Wellington intends to command in person.

April 17.—Everything here up till now is quiet, but how long that will last God alone knows. Nothing is spoken or thought of here but Rebellion and Revolution from morning to night. In this way we are in constant excitement and that is anything but pleasant. But one must hope for the best, and anyhow I think we shall show these infamous people at least that the Soldiers will do their duty and that England has the strength and the will to put down revolt. But it makes my position not very pleasant, and right glad shall I be when the matter is settled one way or the other, as this uncertainty is very distressing. I wish the Government would act with rather more energy, for

[1] Of Glücksburg, afterwards Queen of Denmark.

[2] Her husband, Prince Christian (afterwards King of Denmark), who was with the army.

[3] A great procession of Chartists was to march from Kennington to the House of Commons on April 10 to present a monster petition to Parliament. The procession was declared illegal, and the demonstration failed miserably.

unfortunately up to now very little has been done to put down these infamous vagabonds. How infamous is this war in Denmark. Thank Heaven the first victory has been won by the Danes, but it is too bad that the Prussians and Hanoverians meddle themselves in it. It is abominable. If the Danes were left to fight it out I do not for the moment think that they would carry the day, but against such an overwhelming Power it is quite another affair. Poor Louise, how sorry I am for her. She is in a most painful position. May God preserve excellent Christian. And in Cassel too all is upside down; where is the world going to? Thank God, England has again shown herself very great and noble, and the world again sees what we really are capable of, and how great a country we still ever are, and, it is to be hoped, long will remain. Uncle Fritz [1] is very right to remain with you; whither in fact could he go? Rumpenheim at this present moment would be impossible. Thank God, our dear Gustchen [2] is at the present moment out of danger; but they ought as soon as possible to find their way back to Strelitz, it is his proper place and he ought to seek to preserve it. 1848 ÆT. 29

I have an immense deal to do, my command is very extensive, about 10,000 men, all arrangements and decisions to be made, and I am occupied with them from the early morning till late at night. War with France seems to be the probable end, and that will be far better than Civil War, which would be too terrible.

April 27.— . . . It would really be remarkable if Old England should be the one and only country to check these new ideas. A great country she is, that is certain, and truly one feels proud of her and with good reason.

Arrest of Smith O'Brien

August 7.—I am sure you will have heard with real pleasure that Smith O'Brien [3] has been arrested. It is a very important thing, and it is to be hoped will greatly conduce to the suppression of the Rebellion and to break it all up.

[1] Prince Frederick of Hesse, brother to her late Royal Highness the Duchess of Cambridge.

[2] Princess Augusta, Grand Duchess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz.

[3] William Smith O'Brien, one of the leaders of the Young Ireland party.

1848 Æt. 29 He was recognised in a village called Thurles and seized, which was effected without the slightest trouble. Thereupon he was brought here to my quarters under an escort of police. It was at 2 A.M. in the night of Saturday and Sunday. Everyone here was in bed. I alone was sitting up. Suddenly I heard a violent knocking and ringing of the bell. All my servants sleep at the other end of the house and they heard nothing. I did not want to wake them, and as no one came I went myself to the door and opened it. Imagine my astonishment at seeing a number of constables, all armed, and when General Macdonald, A.D.C., came forward to me with the information that it was Smith O'Brien standing before my house I could not believe my ears. I admitted the A.D.C. and shut the door, as I would not let Smith O'Brien himself in (although the stupid newspapers say I had a long interview with him, in which there is not one word of truth). I should have much liked to see him, but I thought it would have a bad effect and therefore I let it alone, of which now I am doubly glad. I then called Jim [1] up and sent him with the fellow and his escort to the prison, where he is now happily confined. I myself then quickly got my horse and rode off to Phœnix Park to announce the fact to the Lord-Lieutenant [2] who also was in bed, and whom I had some trouble in getting at, as his people likewise never heard my knocking. Jim told me he never saw a man so quiet and collected in so critical a position. He is prepared for everything, and says he did not succeed because it was six weeks too early, that had he had those six weeks longer the whole country would have followed him. Well, Heaven be praised we have got him and everything is quite quiet. If they now will only act with energy all will go well and the whole thing will be suppressed, but if they show the slightest weakness then we shall be in a worse condition than ever. . . .

1849 Æt. 30 *Dublin, August* 15, 1849.—Your letters prove to me you are satisfied. My position here during the Queen's visit was

[1] Captain Jim Macdonald, His Royal Highness's Equerry.

[2] George William Frederick, 4th Earl of Clarendon, K.G., Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland from 1847 to 1852.

1849
ÆT. 30

The Queen's visit to Ireland

all that I could possibly have wished, and the grace and favour and affection for me shown by the Queen, and at the same time the friendly and hearty tone of Albert, were such that I can only be flattered, and have only a most pleasant remembrance of the whole visit, and am very happy and content to have been present at it. . . . My efforts and military arrangements are very fully appreciated here, as the Queen herself proved by expressing it to me on every occasion, and particularly through her very friendly manner and special distinction at every opportunity, also at the end by presenting me with the St. Patrick's Order. Lord Clarendon and Sir George Grey [1] also very expressly told me it would have been impossible to have made better dispositions than I had done, and that the Queen had specially imparted to them her very great satisfaction with all I had done, and how she felt 'greatly indebted to me for the manner in which I had conducted everything, which had greatly added to the comfort and pleasure she had experienced during her visit to Dublin.' I beg of you not to say all this to others, as it sounds as though I wished to play a part, but I may tell it to my own dear mother with true pride, as I know what great pleasure it will give you. Albert also was very friendly and made me the finest compliments upon my military knowledge, which is a fresh proof that he is kindly disposed towards me. And he said to others he had never seen prettier manœuvres and that the troops were magnificent under my leadership. It certainly all went extraordinarily favourably, not a mistake was made, not an escort, not a guard of honour was faulty, and the troops of every arm behaved excellently and did their utmost. The enthusiasm of the people it is impossible to express in words, and it is impossible any longer to doubt that Irishmen are at heart thoroughly Royalistically inclined, if only the agitators would leave them in peace.

September 19.— . . . I have not written hoping day by day to get to you, but from various causes have had to put off my journey. I felt I could not possibly leave the garrison so long as the cholera was so seriously raging in the town.

[1] Home Secretary in Lord John Russell's administration, 1846–52.

1849 Æt. 30 Thank God, it is now diminishing day by day, and I hope now positively to be able soon to get to you.

(*From Prince George to Captain Mildmay*)

December 3.—. . . My sister,[1] Fritz [2] and dear Baby [3] left Kew last Thursday week. . . . It is felt by all that in the present state of Germany they were right to go. . . . The affairs in Germany are in anything but a comfortable state, and God only knows how they may turn out. Louis Napoleon is a wonderful fellow; he does the most extraordinary things, apparently with impunity, and has gained popularity by them. Still I fancy he cannot go on long in this way, and though I think he certainly has a great deal of tact and talent, still I think he has not enough to carry him through so vast an undertaking, and that he will consequently break down in the attempt of making himself Emperor or First Consul, which he is evidently driving at. . . .

(*From Prince George to his Mother*)

Death of Queen Adelaide

December 4.—Yesterday I received the news of the death of the good beloved Queen,[4] and I can assure you, although I had been long expecting the sad intelligence, when it came in truth it upset me terribly, and I feel indeed I have lost a true dear relation and friend in the dear departed. It is well with her, of that I am assured, she was so good and pious in all her feelings that the end was soft and easy for her. And then, poor soul, she suffered so cruelly in the last months that one could really not wish a prolongation of her sufferings. Yet her loss is quite terrible for all her surroundings and for the thousands who depended upon her kindness. For myself she was a remembrance of the dear good old times, which, alas! are past and gone. I pity beyond all things the poor Duchess,

[1] Princess Augusta.
[2] The late Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, who died in 1904.
[3] The present reigning Grand Duke Adolphus of Mecklenburg-Strelitz.
[4] Queen Adelaide.

Ida,[1] and Edward.[2] You were so right to go to see them, painful though it must have been to you. Naturally I shall come over for the funeral, and would not for anything fail to attend it, as indeed I am bound to pay my last duty and love to her who has ever done so endlessly much for me. I am only waiting to learn when the funeral will probably take place, and shall then come at once. . . . 1849 ÆT. 30

With the year 1850 the diary reopens and continues, practically without intermission, until within a few months of His Royal Highness's death. The year 1850 was one of sorrow and change for Prince George, for in July he lost his father, to whom he was deeply devoted, and succeeded to the dukedom and all the honours of a high and responsible position. How unexpected was the death of the Duke of Cambridge may be gathered from the following letter addressed by Prince George to his father on the birthday of the Duke: 1850

Dublin, February 24.—My dearest Father, I cannot possibly begin this day better than by wishing you joy from my very heart on its return. May you live to see many, many more birthdays and may each successive year find you in the same state of health and in the same excellent spirits that I am truly grateful to think that you enjoy at this moment. I should have much liked to have been myself the bearer of these my wishes, but as I am alas far away this letter must take my place, and I am sure that the contents of it will be as kindly received by you as if I had said them to you myself. My little offering I ventured to give you before I left London. I feel that it was hardly worthy of your acceptance, but as it had been used and valued by the Queen Dowager I thought that it might be deemed worthy of some little corner in your room. Your letter of the 20th has reached me, and I think I see by it that you have come very much to the same conclusion as myself

[1] Princess Ida of Saxe-Weimar, sister to Queen Adelaide, and mother to Prince Edward of Saxe-Weimar.

[2] Prince Edward of Saxe-Weimar.

1850 Æt. 30 with regard to the debate the other night in the House of Lords, that as far as Lord R——[1] was concerned it must have been satisfactory to him as proving a general feeling of respect for him which has not been diminished by recent events; but as a debate I think it has ended more in favour of Ministers than otherwise, notwithstanding the eloquent speech of Lord Stanley which I should have much liked to have heard. Lord Clarendon's reply seems to me to have been gentlemanlike and he makes out a better case for himself than I expected him to have done. At the same time I cannot help thinking that the dismissal of Lord R. was a great error in judgment on his part, as being a man universally esteemed and respected and as being at the head of a great, influential and most loyal party. That he had the law on his part I doubt not, but I certainly think that it was an impolitic act on the part of His Excellency. The division on Disraeli's motion has surprised me not a little and indeed everybody seems equally astonished at the result. It is a very severe blow to the Government and we may rest assured that they will be far more civil and attentive to the Protectionist Party for the future, as they are not to be despised, for certainly a majority for the Government of only 21 in so full a house is tantamount to a defeat, particularly when it is considered that Peel, Graham, and others of that party voted with the Government. I shall be very curious to see the division list. Gladstone has quite split with his former friends, which is very significant.

I am sure you will have been as much amused as myself by the absurd rumours which come from Greece in regard to myself and the Greek Kingdom. I am delighted to find that I have been studying Greek so attentively at Zante! as I am represented to have done. I think it very possible that this story has originated in some mistake about Mildmay! who, you know, was detained for a considerable period at Zante by stress of weather. I am afraid that it

[1] A discussion was raised in the House of Lords on a conflict which occurred at Dolly's Brae, County Armagh, in July 1849, in which several lives were lost, and which led to the removal of Lord Roden by the Government from the Commission of the Peace. Lord Stanley's motion was one involving general consideration of the Ministerial policy in Ireland.

is now too late for the King of Hanover to do more than protest against the conduct of Prussia and Brunswick in the affair of the Military convention signed by these two Powers. I confess I think it a most unjustifiable act, just as disgraceful to Prussia as to Brunswick, as the former Power ought not to have permitted the Duke of Brunswick to have committed himself in such a way. It is very evident that this is part of the system now, alas! adopted by Prussia of mediatising *underhand* all the smaller states of Germany. Prussia is afraid to go boldly to work in the matter and therefore does not think it beneath her to do so by stealth. The conduct of Count Brandenburg astonishes me, I confess! for I believed him to be a man of honour. I must now conclude for to-day, and remain, my dearest Father, your most dutiful and affectionate Son,

1850 ÆT. 30

GEORGE.

The 'absurd rumours' from Greece are referred to in other letters. To his mother he wrote at this time: 'Did you see in *The Times* of the day before yesterday the ludicrous account from Athens that they intend to make me King of Greece, and that, therefore, I am at Zante studying Greek?' Writing to Captain Mildmay, his Equerry, in March, he gives what he believes to be the origin of the rumour:

How did you enjoy your trip to Athens, and what do you think of the affairs of Greece? . . . My opinion is that, however ill the Greeks have behaved to us—and they have done so, nobody knows better than I do—nothing can justify our recent conduct to them, and that as a stroke of Policy it is the very worst that ever was made, as it will force them into the arms of the very Powers whose influence we are anxious to counteract. You will be amused to hear that, in connexion with this affair, a correspondent from Athens said that *I* was to be made King of Greece, and that I was *studying* Greek at Zante, to qualify for this position. My firm belief is, that the mistake as regards the latter part of the story originated with your having

1850 Æt. 30 been detained so long at Zante and having heard something of the Duke of Cambridge, you being his Equerry, they have no doubt jumbled all this together and made you out for me!

Prince George's opinions find strong expression in his letters. Of the union of Church and State he writes to his mother: 'I quite understand your opinion of Mr. Bennett's sermons and there is much in them, yet I cannot think him right in his view, for I hold the union of the Church and State to be one of our main props. . . .' Again, a letter to Captain Mildmay shows his strong affection for England and his pride in being an Englishman. 'I can perfectly understand,' he says, 'your feelings on landing in dear old England after so long an absence, as I have experienced them myself on several occasions. The fact is that however one likes seeing foreign countries and however amused and interested one is in seeing the various customs and habits of others, still upon returning to England one feels that everything here is so very superior to what one has seen that one is doubly proud of being an Englishman and of belonging to a nation that has such a country to live in.'

CHAPTER V

DEATH OF FATHER AND SUCCESSION

1850–1853

Last illness of the Duke of Cambridge—Attack on the Queen—Death of Sir Robert Peel—Days of terrible anxiety—Death and funeral of the Duke—Letters to a member of the Prince's Staff—His father's last days—Plans for the future—Good-bye to Cambridge House—The King of Prussia's sympathy—Position of the Cambridge family—The Duke and the House of Lords—Letter from the Queen—Charitable works—The Duke to his mother—The Great Exhibition—Letter from the Emperor Nicholas—First anniversary of the death of the Duke of Cambridge—Melancholy thoughts—Birthday congratulations—Death of the Duke of Wellington—The Queen's grief—Funeral of the Duke—A French play at Windsor—Visit to Oxford

1850
Æt. 31

His father's illness and death

THE first intimation of his father's last illness is contained in an entry in Prince George's diary for June 21. 'My Father not at all well,' he writes. The next day he found his father no better, and 'persuaded him to consult Dr. Watson.'[1] The days of anxiety that followed are best described in His Royal Highness's own words:

Diary, June 27.—Called at the Palace to see the Queen. She then came to Cambridge House and in driving out, a miscreant, Pate by name, late Lieut. 10th Hussars, struck her with a stick in the face. Not much injured, thank God, though bruised. *30th.*—My father not so well to-day. Violent attack in the stomach, not stopped till evening, and leaving him very feeble towards night. We are all much alarmed. Sir Robert Peel seriously and dangerously injured by fall. Collar bone smashed in several parts.[2]

[1] Thomas Watson, M.D., afterwards Sir Thomas.

[2] Sir Robert Peel was thrown from his horse on Constitution Hill on

1850 ÆT. 31

Death of Sir Robert Peel

July 1.—Sir R. Peel in a very bad state and not expected to live. *2nd.*—The Duke continues to improve, and has certainly gained to-day. Sir R. Peel extremely ill all day, and died at 11 o'c. in the evening. *3rd.*—My father continues much the same, but without any material improvement. The gloom cast over London by Sir Robert Peel's death overpowers everything. *5th.*—My father to-day not so well, and the medical men not satisfied. Great debility. *6th.*—My father no better, but not worse to-night, or during the day. The anxiety of mind and body very great, and we are all in a great state of suspense. On the whole, however, the day was passed more tranquilly and my dear father was moved on a sofa into his sitting room for a few hours. This, however, rather exhausted him. *7th.*—Dr. Bright[1] saw my father to-day and evidently had a very bad opinion of him, though he said the case was not a hopeless one. Towards night my father, who had been progressing favourably and tranquilly during the day, grew much worse quite suddenly and about 11 o'c. the medical men did not think that it could last much longer. By help of stimulants, however, he got better, after one, and towards morning was so considerably better that the pulse had regained its composure and firmness, and his mind, which had been very languid, had quite regained its energy. We sat up all night with him—and a fearful night it was. In the early part of it a short prayer was said by Hutchinson,[2] in which, however, my poor father did not from exhaustion appear able to join. After one o'clock, he seemed to get more quiet and better and we moved him on to the sofa and he rallied wonderfully and got quite himself again, very collected in thought, and the swallow again easy and regular. *8th.*—At about 7 all things were so much improved, and he appeared going on so well altogether, that I went to Gloucester House to carry the better tidings to my dear Aunt. We sent for Watson.

June 29, and mortally injured by the fall. After lingering in pain for three days he died on July 2.

[1] Richard Bright, M.D.

[2] Mr. Hutchinson was Chaplain to the Duke of Cambridge, and religious instructor to Princess Mary, afterwards Duchess of Teck.

H.R.H. ADOLPHUS FREDERICK, DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE, K.G.

(From a Drawing made in 1846 by James R. Swinton, in the possession of Rear-Admiral Sir Adolphus FitzGeorge, K.C.V.O.)

1850
ÆT. 31

I called Dr. Bright myself. They came immediately and were astonished at the rally that had been made. Mr. Hills [1] was sent for from Richmond, who was to remain all day and relieve the other medical men in their attendance. The dear Duchess of Gloucester came at 8, and took me to Buckingham Palace, when I saw the Queen, who was most anxious and much affected. Returned to Cambridge House and went to see my father, who spoke kindly to me and blessed me. Went down to dine at 9.50. I received a message to say I was wanted immediately. I rushed up without a moment's delay, but ere I got there all was over. My dear father had expired quite unexpectedly and most calmly and quietly. Nobody was in the room at the time but Mr. Hills and the servant. My poor mother had just gone out of the room. Suddenly he opened his eyes wide, uttered a faint exclamation and fell back lifeless without a struggle. My feelings at what has occurred, and at my not having been present at the moment, are not to be told. They will continue to the day of my death. I have lost the best of fathers, the most sincere and kindest of friends. May we meet again in Heaven. After all was over we had prayers by the bedside of the dead, which was the only consolation left to us. . . . This is the most fearful blow that has ever come upon me. 16*th*.—The procession for the conveyance of the body of my dearest Father to Kew Church, and everything was most quietly and unostentatiously conducted. The body started exactly at half-past 6 o'clock. We left at 8 and got to Kew just before the procession, which got there at 9.30. . . . Never shall I forget the agony of this day!

Death of the Duke

Funeral

The story of these dark days, and of the period that immediately succeeded them, is vividly told in a series of letters which His Royal Highness wrote to a member of his Staff in Ireland. They are dated from St. James's Palace, where he now had his headquarters when in London.

[1] Edward H. Hills, apothecary and afterwards family doctor at Cambridge Cottage, Kew.

1850 Æt. 31

July 4.—My dear ——, I have been so very anxious about my Father that I really have not had time or inclination to think of anything else and my time is chiefly spent between my house and Cambridge House. The Duke certainly has been and is still very ill and at his advanced age one cannot help being very anxious about him. Thank God he has been somewhat better ever since Sunday night, when he was very ill, and to-day he is declared by the medical attendants decidedly better, and if we can only keep going on satisfactorily for the next two or three days, however slowly it may be, all will yet I trust be well. The fever has entirely left him but the great weakness that it has left is what we are most anxious about. If this can be got over there is no organic disease whatever, so that at all events is a great point gained. To-day my father is in my opinion better. He is more himself again, takes more interest in himself and in what is going on. His pulse is good and strong, his tongue, which has been very bad, is better and he has taken some nourishment. This is a great thing now, and this has been our difficulty, but when once he takes this I am certain that we shall mend. You can conceive our anxiety on his account, which is extreme. Nothing but horrors takes place. Poor Peel, is it not dreadful! He suffered fearfully, poor man, and it was impossible to say what injuries he had, for they will not allow the body to be examined. He died composedly at last. . . . The Queen is in a dreadful state at his loss.

July 11.—I have just received your kind and amiable letter of the 9th, and I am certain that you feel deeply and sincerely for me and mine. The blow that has befallen us is a dreadful one and I confess most unexpected, for though I had misgivings from the first and always thought my excellent Father in a most unsatisfactory state, still I could not help resting my hopes of his recovery on his excellent constitution which had never once been shaken by illness or from any other cause. But we calculated in vain and the rapidity with which the sad event at last took place is not to be told. Even to the last we had hopes, for though the night of the Sunday to the Monday

1850
ÆT. 31

was a fearful one and we expected my dear Father's death momentarily, still he made so wonderful a rally, that we really began to think that a crisis had taken place and that he had got over it. But God willed it should not be so. My poor sister Augusta arrived a few hours too late. You can conceive the state she is in, in this moment—besides the severity of the blow that has befallen us all. Thank God my dear Father did not, by all we can make out, suffer much, and his end was quite sudden and unexpected, his pulse being good to the last. Alas! not one of us was in the room at the moment, though we none of us left him for more than half an hour at a time to enable him to sleep. He had spoken to my Mother but a few minutes before his death, and his head and intellect were to the last as clear as possible. His last words almost were whether *I* had dined at Cambridge House that evening. The misery I have gone through for the last fortnight, the suspense, the anxiety, are not to be told, and it will be long, long before I shall get over it. It is a gratification, though a most melancholy one, to have tended my dearest Father to the last and to have, I trust, in some slight degree alleviated the sufferings of his last moments. I have lost a Father and the best friend I had on earth. I remain, your most sincere and afflicted friend, GEORGE.

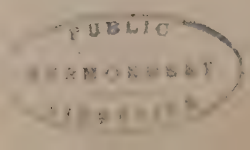
Plans for the future

July 23.—Jim showed me a letter to-day from you in which you express a wish to be informed of my plans. I feel that I am much to blame in having neglected to write to you for so long a period, but I have had my brain so fully occupied that I have been unable to attend to any business of my own and this I hope will plead my excuse. I am, however, most anxious that you should all fully understand that I have quite determined upon retaining my post at Dublin and continuing in the Army as my profession, therefore you may expect me back at Dublin very shortly, in fact the moment I can wind up my affairs here, which I hope to do in about a fortnight. I am very much pleased and gratified by the debate the other night in the House of Commons and think that in consideration of the present times they have done by me what is right

1850 Æt. 31 and just. So you see I am not ungrateful and the whole debate was highly satisfactory to my personal feelings as regards the memory of my lamented Father and as regards the feelings expressed towards myself, which far exceeded anything I had a right to expect. I find that you wish to come over to England. Let me not, I pray you, stand in your way, though perhaps in some respects it might be desirable that I should have returned before you came over. But this I leave entirely in your hands, knowing full well that you will do what is right and what is most convenient and agreeable to Sir Edward.[1] I think I shall be over in Dublin by about the 2nd or 1st week in August, but this must depend upon circumstances which I cannot as yet answer for. I had a long conversation with —— who was determined to see me though I tried hard to avoid him. I fear he was not much pleased with what I said to him. I told him distinctly that as far as I was concerned I should certainly not assist him in getting the regiment, which seemed to astonish and annoy him very much, but I could not help it, nor could I go off from what I had said when asked about him. I hope nothing disagreeable will happen during the Mayo election. Pray write to me, my dear ——.

July 29.—Many thanks for your letter and I am glad to find that you are pleased to hear of my intention to return to Dublin. But I am right to go back—of that I feel most fully convinced. I have just seen your letter to Jim with enclosure from Mr. ——. This gentleman is a very great bore, and I wish you would inform him of this fact and tell him in reply to his letter that I could not hold out any promise whatever and that I decline making any. The fact is that my next presentations are promised and I do not think he has a chance. . . . I think considering the times Parliament has been liberal to me, at all events has done what was right, though no more, and I am grateful and content. I am much annoyed to hear of the trouble —— has got into; I wish he would give up all these horrid racing transactions. They are not credit-

[1] Sir Edward Blakeney.



H. R. H. Princess Victoria.

able to him. I wish you would write me word, a real account of the whole affair, for I do not think it ought to rest here unless his account is a perfectly satisfactory one. I suppose the papers are likely to take it up if it gets into them, and then the 17th will come in for their share of abuse as usual for what they are in no respect answerable. It is too bad and I am much annoyed about it. . . . What a battle there has been in Schleswig and what a licking those little Danes have given them. I am delighted at it. 1850 ÆT. 31

July 30.— . . . My mother and family are gone out of town to-day ; it was a sad break up and I assure you that it has affected me very much ; it is very doubtful whether we shall ever occupy poor dear Cambridge House again. Till now everything had gone on as usual, but with to-day all ends and the fine old establishment is broken up and scattered to the winds. Some of the servants go to my mother, some to me, and some go altogether. It is too sad and I assure you that I feel most melancholy and my feelings are quite gone back again to those melancholy days after my father's death when our interest in watching over his valuable life was gone. I own I wish I could get away myself, but I must wait till matters are in order here, which as yet they certainly are not. I hope, however, that about a fortnight will do all that is requisite, and then I shall hurry off, paying a visit to my mother and sisters of a couple of days at Plas Newydd which Lord Anglesey has so kindly lent them.

Expressions of sympathy reached His Royal Highness, now Duke of Cambridge, from every quarter. Of these it will be enough to quote the following letter from the King of Prussia :

Sympathy from the King of Prussia

July 24.—My dear and gracious Sir ; Your Royal Highness has yourself announced to me the death of your Father, so highly honoured and loved by me. I recognise this kindness and attention towards me in the fullest measure and with deeply felt thanks, the expression of which I beg of you herewith amiably to accept. How much and

1850 Æt. 31 how sympathetically have I thought in these days of sorrow of your Royal Highness, of the widowed Duchess your Mother, and of your dear sister the Hereditary Grand Duchess. The dear departed Duke was from olden times a friend and patron of mine, and I may say I ever regarded him with truest gratitude. At quite the beginning of the century I saw him at Berlin and he endeared himself to me in those happy careless times when he condescended to join our childish games. He enchanted me by his amiable kindliness and his extraordinary good looks. When I saw him again in the year '14 in England he knew and remembered all my childish tricks and gave me the impression that our acquaintance had never been interrupted. During the time Hanover was under his rule I often had the happiness of meeting him again, and also later on, and he always remained the same to me and increased every time my affection and regard for him. You see, my dearest Sir, I have reason beyond many others to deplore his loss, which is in every way irreparable. His memory will remain with me for ever, very precious and valued. I beg of your Royal Highness to accept the expression of my warmest and deepest commiseration and to lay the same at the feet of your mother and your sister. Never has there been a more honest and sincere condolence than mine. Pray continue, dearest Sir, the friendship of your departed Father towards

Your Royal Highness' sincerely attached

Cousin,

FREDERICK WILLIAM R.

It is necessary at this point to go back somewhat in time and to consider the steps which were taken to consolidate the Duke's position. Some days after his father's death he had a long conversation with the Queen and Prince Albert about himself and his position in the country. 'Nothing,' he writes of this meeting, 'could be more kind and considerate than the manner in which she expressed herself about all of us.' The House of Commons

voted £12,000 a year for the Duke, and £3,000 for each of his sisters, the Princesses Augusta and Mary. 'This income very satisfactory at the present time,' is the comment in the diary for July 20. The question of the Duke's seat in the House of Lords, however, was not so easily settled. Late in July he took his seat in the House, being introduced by the Duke of Wellington and the Duke of Beaufort. Soon afterwards Parliament was prorogued. In the recess the Lord Chancellor put forward the theory that His Royal Highness was not entitled to rank as a Royal duke, and that he ought only to take precedence according to the date of the creation of the dukedom, which was 1801. The Duke fought the point strenuously, and found strong support not only in Court circles but also among many distinguished lawyers, and at the reassembling of Parliament he went down to the House and took his seat as a Royal duke. Neither the Lord Chancellor nor anyone else ventured to dispute his right, and the point was never again raised.

1850
ÆT. 31

(*Letter from the Queen*)

Osborne, August 1, 1850.

I can easily imagine how painful the breaking up of the establishment at Cambridge House—the departure of your poor mother and sisters—and the return to the lonely house must have been! It must, however, have been a satisfaction to you to feel how much your affection and consideration have soothed your mother's painful trials, and that it is in your power to be of such use to her.

Your appointments seem very proper ones. May I ask who is to remain as gentleman with your mother, and who is to have the management of your and her Household?

You will easily believe how happy we were that your Income was so satisfactorily voted in Parliament, and much rejoiced to think that we had been able to be of use to you on this occasion.

1850 Æt. 31

Let me repeat again, dear George, how anxious we ever shall be to be of use to you, and to show you that you have true friends in both of us who entertain truly *Geschwisterliche Gefühle* [1] towards you.

The Duke returned to his duties in Dublin late in August, and remained in Ireland until October, when he paid a short visit to Germany. One more letter written during this year must be given. It is addressed to Captain Mildmay from Dublin :

September 3.— . . . I wish I could see Louis Napoleon receiving the Fleet at Cherbourg ; it will be a very fine sight, I think. I cannot but think that it must end by his being Emperor sooner or later ! Wonderful when one remembers the insignificant figure he cut in England.

December found His Royal Highness again in the family circle at Kew, and on the 18th, we read in the diary, he ' came up to town and was present at Mary's examination at Gloucester House by the Bishop of London, which went off well, though she was much alarmed.' So ended an eventful year.

1851 Æt. 31

A few extracts from the Duke's diary will serve to indicate the nature of his life during the years 1851 to 1853.[2] The period was in the main uneventful, but the hours were crowded with military duties and public services, and periods of private leisure grew increasingly hard to obtain. It was speedily discovered that His Royal Highness was an admirable speaker, and that he could plead persuasively and successfully for those who were in distress. Charitable institutions were eager to secure his services at their festival dinners, and he seldom turned a deaf ear to their appeal. To the warm interest he took in

[1] ' Brotherly feelings.'

[2] It was in January 1851 that rooms in St. James's Palace were placed, by the Queen's command, at His Royal Highness's disposal.

these occasions throughout his public life the diary bears abundant witness. Not only does he record the dinner, the company, and the object, but almost invariably he adds the amount collected. 1851 ÆT. 31

Diary, February 26, 1851.—Went to London Tavern at 6, and presided at the Dinner for the German Hospital. It went off very well and we made a collection of nearly £2,000.

A letter which he wrote to his Mother on his own birthday must be quoted :

Dublin, March 26.—My beloved Mama, this morning I received your dear letter from Melton and as I wish to answer it immediately I cannot do better, dearest Mama, than write to you the first thing, as this is the day on which you will quite especially be thinking of me first of all with love and affection. I need hardly tell you how from my heart I regret I should be absent from you all, and I would only too gladly have hurried over to spend the day with you, for such occasions are ever best spent within the circle of dear relations—more especially this year after all the sorrow we have lived through together and in which we have, true to one another, stood united to endure amid the depth of our misfortune. But, alas! such a trip is at this moment impossible for me, and you, therefore, will forgive my not following my so earnest wish. But that I think with all my heart of you this letter, I hope, will prove to you, and in spirit we both are thinking first of our beloved departed whose dear handwriting I have ever been wont on this day to see first of all others, and who ever sent me such loving words and wishes for the happiness of my future. It is well for him, yet I cannot deny that I deeply and sadly miss his usual dear letter and that I should be too rejoiced could we but yet see him among us. But God has willed it otherwise, doubtless for His own wise purpose. . . . I am very glad to see that your stay at Melton has been pleasant to you. Æt. 32

1851 Æt. 32

I can well fancy when you went over to Belvoir[1] that the visit brought back to you many sad reminiscences, yet I am glad you did pay the visit, difficult as it must indeed have been to you to do so. Your opinion of young English gentlemen I somewhat share, but I must say this for them, that all Englishmen are naturally reticent and one must first know them more thoroughly before one can discover their better qualities, they are naturally shy and you would in time find out that there is *au fond* more in them than at first they allow to appear. For the *salon* as it is understood on the Continent they are less suited. . . .

And also the following:

April 17.— . . . You are very right indeed to remind me that this is Holy Week and I shall certainly not fail to go to church to-morrow. Indeed I already had that full intention before your dear lines reached me. With regard to taking the Holy Sacrament, that is a little difficult just now—here my thoughts are somewhat scattered and pre-occupied. But at a quieter time I would gladly do so and be assured, dearest Mama, that I most fully appreciate the value of it. . . .

The Great Exhibition

The year 1851 will ever be memorable as the one in which the Great Exhibition was opened in Hyde Park. That great 'festival of peace,' which, by drawing men together in the common pursuit of moral and material progress, was to mark the end of war and the beginning of a new golden age of universal amity, had its opponents at the time in those who, like the famous Colonel Sibthorp, feared, or professed to fear, the gathering together of so many foreigners in London. In a letter to Captain Mildmay the Duke refers to these fears. 'I hear people are getting dreadfully frightened about the Exhibition,' he remarks, 'and the influx into London. I think myself that London will be detestable and I wish that the Exhibition

[1] Belvoir Castle, Grantham, the property of the Duke of Rutland.

were at the Devil!' In the case of the Duke, however, these feelings were not long-lived, for of the opening of the Exhibition on May 1 he says: 'Went to the opening of the Great Exhibition, a very magnificent and wonderful sight. Crowds inside the building and outside, but not the least confusion, and everything went off satisfactorily. Delighted I have been present.' 1851 ÆT. 32

It is curious when reading the following letter from the Emperor Nicholas—written in acknowledgment of the Duke's having returned him the insignia of the Russian Orders which his father held, after the latter's death—to reflect that only three years later the Duke was in the field fighting against him. The Emperor writes:

Peterhof, le 19 Avril 1851.

MONSIEUR MON COUSIN,—La lettre que Votre Altesse Royale a bien voulu m'écrire, et à laquelle étaient joints les insignes des Ordres de Russie dont était revêtu feu Son Altesse Royale le Duc de Cambridge, Son bien aimé Père, n'a pu que renouveler dans mon cœur les sentimens de vive affliction que la mort de ce Prince, si justement considéré, m'avait fait éprouver. En rendant ce triste hommage à la mémoire de l'auguste défunt, je prie Votre Altesse de croire qu'il est aussi sincère que l'attachement invariable et la considération distinguée

Avec lesquels je suis, Monsieur mon Cousin,

De Votre Altesse Royale l'affectionné,

NICHOLAS.

When the anniversary of his father's death came round, the Duke wrote to his mother:

Anniversary of his father's death

July 8.—This day of mourning now returns to us which brought us so much sorrow and lament, and a whole year has past since that precious life ended that we all so dearly loved, honoured and revered. It is well with him, our precious one, but for us, how deeply we feel what we have lost in him, for us it has been indeed a bad and mournful year! Oh, how much I think of all the different circum-

1851 Æt. 32

stances that so quickly and sadly followed each other this day last year. What a night was that previous one when we sat around the sick bed and watched and hoped, all to no purpose, for the end was near. How much I would have wished to spend this day, dearest Mama, with you and my dear sisters and how much I have thought of it all these days; they will move you greatly and we shall fully mourn together. I shall of course spend this day in the utmost quiet, and after I have written this letter I intend to drive to Kew, there to visit the vault where we have laid dear Papa in peace and at rest. God grant that he looks down on us and sends us his blessing. After that I shall go to Richmond, where with my dear Aunt [1] I will spend the day and have luncheon and sit with her. Thank God, she is very well and seems in good spirits, she is prudent and does not do too much, but yet more than I think good for her. . . . My dear Aunt latterly has been going out much more than I think prudent, yet she looks well and it does not seem to hurt her. At the same time I cannot deny that I think her considerably aged within this year. She was yesterday at the concert at Court where I also was, and which was very fine. . . .

Letters to his Mother

July 15.—I wrote to you on our day of sorrow that so brought back to me all the grief of the past dreadful year. After I had written to you I drove to Richmond by way of Kew, had luncheon with dearest Aunt, Lady Caroline,[2] and Liddell,[3] and found her tolerably well, although very low, which it was natural she should be. It unfortunately was a bad day and she could not drive out in her garden. I then went back to Kew and with good Kirby [4] visited the vaults. I was much satisfied to find all so dry and beautiful there, the gold as fresh as though new and not the slightest damp about the coffin. It was very edifying

[1] Duchess of Gloucester.

[2] Lady Caroline Murray, daughter of the Earl of Mansfield, lady-in-waiting to the Duchess of Gloucester.

[3] Colonel the Hon. George Augustus Frederick Liddell (Scots Guards), sixth son of the 1st Baron Ravensworth, Comptroller of the Household to the Duchess of Gloucester.

[4] Head coachman to the Duke of Cambridge.

and did my sad heart good. It was 7.30 P.M., just a year since I for the last time had seen my beloved father alive. Oh how vivid was that hour of sorrow before my eyes. With him it is well but for those who remain death is very terrible and sad and one feels this so thoroughly as one looks back. The mausoleum will look very well and the exterior of the church gains much by it. I then came back to London and spent the evening alone and still. . . . 1851 ÆT. 32

July 22.—As I hope these lines will find you, dearest Mama, at Rumpenheim on the 25th, I hasten to express to you beforehand the warmest, deepest, heartiest good wishes for that dear day, and at the same time my regret that I cannot personally offer them to you. May God bless and preserve you as well through this as also through many, many coming years and knit the bonds of love and trust ever closer and closer that unite us in such a heartfelt manner. We have lived united through sad and bitter times, may happier ones await us in the coming years. . . . I thought much of you all on the 19th [1] and congratulate you on the day.

July 25.—My dearest much-loved Mama, I cannot begin this day better than by writing to you to express to you my heartiest fondest good wishes for this your birthday. Alas, that I am far away and cannot see you which I greatly, greatly regret, but I cannot help it. How will you spend the day—doubtless a happy day in the family circle. . . . God preserve and bless you in this year and through many coming years and send you all conceivable happiness, health and contentment. May the love we mutually feel for one another strengthen with every year. Thanks to you for all the friendship you have so often and so warmly proved to me, for in this glorious understanding between dear relations consists the true happiness of life. I am going to-day to drive to Richmond to see dearest Aunt Mary, lunch there and wish her joy of this day. She is asked to Osborne for the 4th August and so am I, but I have to excuse myself as I must return to Ireland on Monday for good. . . .

[1] The birthday of his elder sister, the Princess Augusta.

1851 Æt. 32

July 31.—On Monday my dear Aunt came to London to say adieu to me before I left. I thought her well and in good spirits, but I was intensely sorry to leave her, for I feel how very alone she is now, and I would so gladly have remained near her. . . .

December 2.— . . . I have no reason whatever to complain of the brevet, as I had very much rather remain a Major-General in employment than be a Lieutenant-General without employment. I told them so myself, and as I am a Major-General they can at any time promote me to the higher step.

1852 Æt. 33

Diary, April 1, 1852.—Drawing Room. Edward [1] went with us and his wife [2] was presented. Mary went to Court for the first time. *July* 1.—Went to Prorogation of Parliament at 1.30. A fine day and fine sight. All the people in the best possible humour and spirits. Speech good and well read. *Sept.* 14.—Heard of sudden death this day at 3.30, at Walmer, of the Duke of Wellington. Walked up after dinner to Apsley House and ascertained that the sad event was but too true.

Death of the Duke of Wellington

Of the death of the Duke of Wellington Queen Victoria wrote as follows to the Duke of Cambridge :

Balmoral, September 22.—My dear George, You will, I know, join in the grief of the whole nation at the loss of that great and immortal man, whom it has been my privilege, I may truly say, to have known intimately. The dear old Duke's loss is an irreparable one in every sense of the word, and one cannot realise at all the possibility of his being no longer amongst us, or think of *England without him.*

I give you, with the greatest pleasure, permission to accept and wear the Order of the Black Eagle which the

[1] Field-Marshal Prince William Augustus Edward of Saxe-Weimar (colonel 1st Life Guards), eldest son of Prince Bernard of Saxe-Weimar Eisenach, and Ida, daughter of George Duke of Saxe-Meiningen. Born 1823 ; died November 16, 1902.

[2] Lady Augusta Katherine Gordon Lennox, second daughter of the 5th Duke of Richmond and Lennox, K.G.

King of Prussia has been so kind as to give you. I rejoice to hear that you found Augusta quite recovered. She and Fritz will, I am sure, be deeply grieved at the Duke of Wellington's death. 1852 Æt. 33

With Albert's kind love,

Ever, my dear George,

Yr. aff^te^. Cousin,

V. R.

Diary, November 11.—Went with the Queen, my Mother, &c. to Chelsea Hospital to see the Lying in State of the Duke of Wellington. A most imposing sight. . . . 17*th*.—Went to Chelsea Hospital at 7 and saw the detachments there of all the regiments paraded previously to seeing the Lying in State. A beautiful and most interesting sight for a soldier. 18*th*.—This is the great day appointed for the Duke's funeral. Though most unpromising in the morning, it turned out a most beautiful day. Up and dressed by 6.15 and out by a quarter before 7. I had the entire command and responsibility as regarded the troops. Everything went off to perfection and without an accident. The masses of people enormous: their conduct dignified and admirable in the extreme. The interior of St. Paul's very fine. I have kept detailed accounts so shall not notice them here. Got home safe and sound, though a good deal tired, by 5.30, having first reported to Lord Hardinge that all was right.

January 13, 1853.—Windsor Castle. Went to see the Queen's children act a French play—excellent. 1853 Æt. 33

April 19.—Gave a dinner at home to Prince Albert, who came at 7.30, accompanied by Colonel Seymour. There dined besides Lords Aberdeen, Clarendon, Eglinton, Malmesbury, Hardinge, Raglan, Adolphus FitzClarence, Duke of Wellington, Count Kielmansegge, Mr. Sidney Herbert, Paulet [1] and self. The party went off very well and the dinner was a good one. Æt. 34

June 7.—To Oxford with my sisters and brother-in-law. Drove at once to the Theatre, Visit to Oxford

[1] Lord William Paulet (afterwards Field-Marshal), fourth son of the 13th Marquis of Winchester. Died in 1893.

1853 Æt. 34 where the installation of Lord Derby took place, a magnificent sight, which went off to perfection. The undergraduates in the best possible humour; was made an Honorary Doctor of Civil Law with many others. Then lunched at All Souls College, drove, and walked to various Colleges. Levee of the Chancellor at 4, dressed at Christ Church, and went to a great dinner at Worcester College, the Vice-Chancellor in the Chair. Returned to London by 10 o'c. express.

CHAPTER VI

THE CRIMEAN WAR

1854–1856

The Eastern question—The war fever—The Duke's anxiety to proceed to the front—Appointed to a division—Good-bye to friends—Departure for Paris—Meeting with the Emperor—Great review on the Champs de Mars—A council of war—Mission to Vienna—Hasty criticisms at home—Prussia the unknown quantity—Hopes of Austrian co-operation—The Duke as special envoy—Lord Clarendon's tribute—Arrival in Vienna—Meeting with the Emperor—Marriage of the Emperor—Political conversations—Austria's sincerity—Success of the Duke's mission—Letters to the Duchess of Gloucester—Praise from the Queen and from Lord Clarendon—The need for caution—In camp near Varna—Lord Raglan's difficulties—Ravages of cholera—Crimea—Battle of the Alma—On the heights near Sevastopol—Battle of Inkerman—The Queen and her brave troops—Her Majesty to the Duke—Storm at Balaklava—The Duke to the Queen on the state of the Army—The Duke of Newcastle's tribute

1854
Æt. 34

The Eastern question

THE political sky, which for England had been so clear and serene at the time of the Great Exhibition, had since that festival of peace been growing gradually darker and more threatening until, at the end of 1853, it was black with the storm rack of approaching war. 'The long, long canker of peace' which had obtained since the heroic days of the struggle with the First Consul was indeed 'over and done,' and was soon to be succeeded by 'the blood-red blossom of war.' This is neither the place nor the time to attempt to unravel the tangled skein of events which forced the Eastern question on the attention of the Western Powers. It is enough here to say that the dawn of 1854 found the question in acute suspense, with the balance already turning in the direction of war. True, the Powers had steadily refused

1854 Æt. 34

to recognise the throwing of two divisions across the Pruth to possess the Danubian Principalities as an act of war, and the pretence of diplomatic negotiations was still kept up, but the rejection of the Vienna Note, the fighting at Oltenitza, and the 'Massacre' of Sinope had sealed the fate of peace. The politicians of Great Britain had linked the fortunes of their country with those of France to oppose the aggressiveness of Russia, and an open rupture was merely a question of days. It came on that day, early in March, when Count Nesselrode informed our messenger that the Emperor Nicholas did not think it becoming in him to give any reply to an ultimatum of February 27.

Or ever this happened, we had been moving troops towards the East. From the garrison towns men had marched out amid the plaudits of an enthusiastic populace. It is, indeed, impossible to deny that the idea of war was welcome to the great mass of the people, who were feeling the inevitable reaction after a long period of peace, and who saw in the coming conflict an opportunity to emulate the strenuous deeds of which their fathers talked so proudly.

Anxiety to go to the front

The Duke of Cambridge himself had heard 'the rumble of a distant drum,' and was all eagerness to bear his part in the struggle. On February 9 he learned that 10,000 men were to embark immediately for the East, and the following day he spent 'trying to find out whether or not I am to go out with the troops ordered on foreign service, but have heard nothing as yet.' On the 11th he was 'very busy all the day at the Horse Guards with a view to being employed with the Army to go to Turkey,' and on the 12th he was 'still very doubtful as to whether or not I am to go.' On the 15th he writes: 'Went in the morning to ascertain what was to become of me, but could hear nothing for certain.' The good news came on the following day: 'Went to Horse Guards and there heard that I had a good

chance of going out. At 2.30 the Duke of Newcastle[1] came, who announced to me my good fortune in being appointed to a Division in the expeditionary force. Overjoyed at this news. Communicated it to all my friends.' The days were now fully occupied in making the necessary preparations for the campaign, and in saying good-bye to friends and relatives. 1854 ÆT. 34

Diary, February 25.—Dined at White's, when 60 members of the Club—friends of mine—gave me a most cordial and kind parting dinner. The Duke of Hamilton was in the chair. *March* 4.—Dined at Boodle's, 50 members of the Club giving me a dinner. Cardigan in the chair. Dinner excellent. *25th.*—Dined at the Palace, when the Queen gave a dinner in honour of my birthday and a very pretty little dance afterwards. *April* 10.—This is my last day in dear old England. The departure is really fearful. Would it were well over! I am off at 8.30 to-night. God bless all my relatives and friends. George. ÆT. 35

It was decided that the Duke should proceed to Paris, there to confer with our ally, the Emperor Louis Napoleon. Another diary begins with the following heading : Departure for Paris

This journal commences with the period of departure for the seat of war in the East, 1854.

April 10.—After a sad day spent in taking leave from so many dear and kind friends, in short a day such as I should indeed be sorry to spend again, and after a small dinner with Adolphus FitzClarence, left London by the train at 8.30 and reached Dover at 11.30, accompanied by Lords Raglan[2] and De Ros,[3] Jim, Tyrwhitt,[4] Somerset,[5]

[1] Secretary of State for War.

[2] Lord FitzRoy Somerset, son of 5th Duke of Beaufort, created Lord Raglan. Chief of the Staff to the Duke of Wellington all through the Peninsular War, and his Military Secretary when Commander-in-Chief at the Horse Guards.

[3] 23rd Baron. Quartermaster-General in the Crimea.

[4] Captain Tyrwhitt, A.D.C. in after years to the Duke of Cambridge.

[5] Colonel Poulett Somerset, son of Lord Charles Somerset, and on Lord Raglan's personal Staff in the Crimea.

1854 Æt. 35 Wellesley.[1] Then embarked at once on board the *Vivid*, Captain Smithett, and had a good passage to Calais. Were received by the Mayor and authorities, also an A.D.C. of the Emperor. Left by special train at 2.30 in uniform, and reached Paris at 9.30. 11*th*.—Was received by Marshal Vaillant, a Guard of Honour, the Royal carriages and an Escort, and went direct to the Embassy, where put up admirably by Lord[2] and Lady Cowley. The reception was excellent and hearty. Cries of 'Vivent les Anglais' heard in different directions, the people very respectful. After breakfast went in state to the Tuileries: the reception of the Emperor Louis Napoleon cordial and dignified; his conversation open and candid. I had a long conversation with him, when he showed me a letter from the Emperor of Austria, written in a very satisfactory style. I presented to him a letter from the Queen, which pleased him much. Was then presented to the Empress, who is certainly very handsome. Went thence to Prince Jerome,[3] Princess Mathilde,[4] Grande Duchesse Stephanie of Baden.[5] Thence home. Prince Jerome called. He is a clever and agreeable old man, but I certainly should not have any great confidence in him. Weather lovely, was much struck by the gay appearance of Paris, the improvements going on in all directions immense. At 7.30 dined at the Tuileries in plain clothes, a handsome dinner for about 50 people. After dinner went to the Opera Comique—*L'Etoile du Nord*, by Meyerbeer, was performed. Very pretty as an Opera. 12*th*.—Up at 8, breakfast at 10, then saw the Prussian Minister, Count Hatzfeldt, an agreeable and intelligent man, who spoke most feelingly about the present position of Prussia with reference to the Western Powers. At 12.30 went to the Tuileries, and at 1 started for the Champs de Mars on horseback with the Emperor, to be present at

[1] Colonel Frederick Wellesley, in diplomatic (military) service in Vienna.

[2] Our Ambassador in Paris.

[3] Prince Jerome Bonaparte, King of Westphalia.

[4] Daughter of Prince Jerome Bonaparte.

[5] Niece of Napoleon I., and mother of Princess Mary of Baden (Duchess of Hamilton).

the Great Review he had prepared for me of about 30,000 men. The masses of people enormous, the enthusiasm very great not only for the Emperor, but also for the English, which the whole way was seen by repeated cries of 'Vivent les Anglais'—'Vivent nos alliés'! The *coup d'œil* on arriving on the Champs de Mars was magnificent. On our left were drawn up five Brigades of Infantry, in five consecutive lines of Brigades the entire length of the vast space. In front were 7 Batteries of Artillery (one Horse Artillery) and on the right were 42 Squadrons of Cavalry, equally in four lines of a Brigade each. We rode down every line; the Emperor was received enthusiastically by the whole of the troops crying 'Vive l'Empereur.' Both in standing in line and in defiling the men looked healthy and well. The Artillery I thought least of, the horses seemed to me very mean and bad. The Cavalry under General Kock were magnificent, most admirably mounted, though varying in different Regiments. The Guides are a splendid Regiment, one of the very finest I ever saw, and quite coming up to our own Cavalry. The Carabineers and Cuirassiers are certainly the next finest and some of the light Corps are also well mounted. After passing the whole line, the Infantry got into Columns of Companies, the Cavalry made a very well executed manœuvre to the right by the wheel of Squadrons and formed a mass of Columns by Brigades on their right Squadrons at a gallop, then they all defiled, the Infantry leading, first the Chasseurs de Vincennes, admirable Corps, Infantry of the Line, Garde de Paris, etc., then Artillery, and lastly the Cavalry by Squadrons. After this movement, the Infantry halted, the Cavalry in Columns of Squadrons wheeled up into lines of Columns to the left by Divisions, and made a charge in this order across the Champs de Mars, a most splendid sight. This terminated the proceedings, which gave me a very favourable opinion of the French Army and proved the cordiality of feelings which now so happily exists between the two nations, long it is to be hoped to last! The Empress and Royal Family were present in a Tribune.

1854
ÆT. 35

1854 Æt. 35 *April* 13.—At 9 went to visit the Barracks of the Guides. This is a beautiful Corps, the horses magnificent, the Barracks comfortable, the men look healthy and are well taken care of. There is a mess established on the English system for the officers, which they say answers well. It certainly appeared to be on a good scale and well arranged. Colonel Fleury, a very intelligent officer, commands this regiment. Then went to the Tuileries, where we had a military meeting consisting of the Emperor, Prince Jerome, Marshals St. Arnaud and Vaillant, Lords Raglan and de Ros and myself. The affairs of the East were discussed, but no very definite conclusion was arrived at. After two hours of discussion, the Emperor drove me in his phaeton through the new Rue de Rivoli that he is making—a very magnificent work—then down the Champs Elysées to the Bois de Boulogne, where again he is effecting great improvements, then to St. Cloud, which certainly on a fine day is most charming. We then rode and met the Empress, who was walking about. The Emperor had a good deal of conversation with me on various subjects, which was most interesting. He is extremely judicious in his remarks, and is open and candid. 15*th*.—At 1 the Emperor came and paid me a visit in State. His conversation was as usual interesting, and he was very communicative. At 2, accompanied him in open carriages to Vincennes, where I witnessed the construction of a new bridge made of Gutta Percha, which appeared extremely well and original, and appeared to answer to perfection. We saw the passage of Infantry, Cavalry and Artillery without the least difficulty. We then went into the Fort of Vincennes, a strong work. A Regiment of Artillery is quartered there. . . . Came back through the Faubourg St. Antoine, where there was a great deal of apparent enthusiasm, and thence along the entire Boulevards. The equipage is charming and on the principle of the old French *Chevaux de Poste* system. In fact the whole establishment of the Emperor is admirably arranged. Dined with Prince Jerome—a large party at the Palais Royal, and then went to the Theatre of that name.

1854
ÆT. 35

Visit to Vienna proposed

On the 17th, the day following Easter Sunday, the Duke visited the Emperor, 'who had sent for and wished to see me. He proposed to me to go by way of Vienna, to which I replied that I was quite ready to go, but must depend upon the English Government. We telegraphed accordingly for orders. . . .' Next day His Royal Highness again visited the Emperor 'and took provisional leave of him and the Empress, as we had not as yet received any reply from London. He showed me the upper apartments at the Tuileries, which are fine. Then waited at home for some time, but nothing came . . . fully made up my mind to start for either Marseilles or Vienna that evening. . . . On arrival at the Embassy the reply had come that I should go to Vienna. Accordingly arrangements were made to start at once, so that there should be no loss of time. . . . After taking leave of the Cowleys drove to railroad for Strasburg and started by special train. . . .'

Much bitter criticism was directed against the Duke in certain quarters in England for his failure to proceed direct to the seat of war. The men who made the criticisms saw in the visits to Paris and Vienna a series of brilliant pageants and a round of social entertainments and nothing more. They failed entirely to discern behind these outward and visible signs of friendly intercourse the urgent prosecution of a clearly defined political purpose. And yet even a superficial survey of the situation might have been enough to afford a clue to what was passing behind the dark curtain of diplomacy. The official statement published in the *London Gazette* at the time of the declaration of war opened with references to the concerted efforts of England, France, Austria, and Prussia. It closed with the announcement that England was taking up arms in conjunction with the Emperor of the French. What, in the meantime, had become of the remaining members of the concert, Austria and Prussia?

1854 Æt. 35

The truth was that the attitude of these two Powers was causing the politicians of England and France no little uneasiness. Having marched so far together with the allies on the road of negotiations, they seemed unwilling to follow the path when it led to the battlefield. As the Duke wrote to his aunt the Duchess of Gloucester, from Paris, 'All still look towards Germany, wishing to know what may be decided there. As yet the German Governments will not openly declare, but I trust they may yet be brought to our side; how they can take any other course I cannot imagine. . . .' The key to the situation was to be found in the position of Prussia. Her Court was closely allied with the Russian Court, she had fallen to a lower grade in the household of the nations than she had ever occupied before, and she did not see that any vital interest of hers was involved in the coming struggle. True, if she had boldly thrown in her lot with the allies the success of their united efforts might have restored some of the splendour which her fame had lost after the events of 1848. But the King of Prussia was not of the stuff to hazard everything on the cast of a die, and Prussia held back. The verdict of Prussia practically determined the attitude of Austria. If Prussia stayed at home, Austria could hardly be expected to march out to war, and the evacuation of the Danubian Principalities and the change of the scene of hostilities to the Crimea afforded her an excellent excuse for refraining from active participation in the operations of war.

Austria's intentions

But in April 1854, when the Duke was in Paris, the issues were not so clear as they afterwards became, and hopes were still entertained that Austria would take her place with the allies in the field. In any case it was imperative that Lord Raglan should know the intentions of Austria, and learn in what contingencies she would be ready to act against Russia. If only she could be prevailed upon to take the field and threaten Russia on the flank and in the

rear, the movements of Russia would be paralysed and her advance to Varna effectually checked. If the young Emperor and his advisers could be brought to see that it was more to the interest of Austria to prevent any disaster from befalling the Sultan than to have to come to his relief after the blow had fallen, it was felt that the allies would have gained their end. To impress these considerations upon the Emperor, and to conduct negotiations so delicate, a special envoy was necessary. Everything pointed to the Duke as the person most suited for the mission. His high position in the Army and his intimate knowledge of the needs of the situation marked him out as pre-eminently fitted to plead the cause of the Allies to the best advantage, and his royal blood and approved tact ensured him a closer approach to the Emperor's ear than the most gifted ambassador could hope to gain. It was in these circumstances, then, that he started for Vienna. 1854 ÆT. 35

Before His Royal Highness left Paris, Lord Clarendon had paid the following handsome tribute to his services in the French capital :

Lord Clarendon's tribute

April 15.— . . . I consider that the visit of Your Royal Highness to Paris has been a great political success as it has given the French people an opportunity of publicly ratifying the policy of the Emperor, while on the other hand His Majesty will be more confirmed in that policy and more bound to the English alliance by receiving such unmistakable proofs of the advantage he derives from it at home. Permit me to add, Sir, that much of this good effect is due to Your Royal Highness individually, to your personal bearing and courtesy, and to the manner in which you appear to have satisfied all classes.

Diary, April 19.—Reached Strasburg at 8 a.m. Was received by the Prefect and General Commanding—and after a drive went on by the ordinary mail train for Carlsruhe, Heidelberg and Darmstadt to Frankfort, where we

1854 ÆT. 35

arrived at 4.30. Saw Mildmay there and Hofman to whom I had sent. My Uncle Frederick [1] unwell and could not come from Rumpenheim. . . . Proceeded at 5 by train by Eisenach to Halle, which was reached at 5 o.c. a.m. (*20th*) after a hard night's journey. Reached Leipsig at 3, and there remained 3 hours. . . . Went on at 10 to Dresden, where arrived at 1.30, and found there my dear sister Augusta with Fritz waiting for me, having sent them a telegraphic message from Paris to say I was coming. Also Forbes and Gersdorff [2] were there. The former having foolishly announced me at the Court, an invitation was awaiting me to dine with the King and Queen at the Weingarten, which I was forced to accept. They received me most graciously. After dinner had some talk with the King, whom I found very Russian in sentiments, and all for Germany doing nothing. . . . Started by train for Prague which was reached at 4.30 a.m. (*21st*) and after an hour's stoppage continued our journey to Vienna which was reached at 9 o.c. Westmorland [3] was awaiting my arrival at the Station with his sons and attachés and an officer from the Emperor. . . . Drove with Westmorland at once to the Embassy where I am put up. *22nd.*—After breakfast had a long conversation with Westmorland, who read to me many papers and despatches bearing on the Eastern Question. . . . The Emperor returned so late that he could not give me an audience to-day, but fixed to-morrow for it at 11 o.c. Great preparations going on for the reception to-morrow. . . . *23rd.*—After breakfast at 11 a.m. was received in State by the Emperor. He is a young man, full of life and energy, and appears also full of talent. He conversed long on the important topics of the day, and all that he said was most just and true and, as far as it went, satisfactory. I congratulated him, on the part of the Queen, on his approaching marriage. As this was my first interview with him, I did not wish to press him too

Arrival in Vienna

[1] Prince Frederick of Hesse, brother to Augusta, Duchess of Cambridge.

[2] Oberhofmarschall at the Court of Saxony.

[3] H.B.M.'s Ambassador at Vienna.

H.R.H. PRINCE GEORGE OF CAMBRIDGE.

(From a Painting in the possession of Rear-Admiral Sir Adolphus FitzGeorge, K.C.V.O.)

much, but I am confident his intentions are with us, though he is grieved at the part he is obliged to take against Russia. After being with him for nearly ½ an hour, called on the Archdukes, the Emperor's brothers, then on Archdukes John and Leopold. Then returned home and went with Westmorland to Count Buol.[1] Had a very lengthened conversation with him on all that is going on, which was also satisfactory, as evincing a decided and very strong feeling in our favour, but still could not get any very decided answer as to the period of action. At 3.30 to the house of Count Arnim, the Prussian Minister, whence I saw the procession of the Imperial Bride entering the town of Vienna in State. It certainly was a very magnificent pageant. The streets full of people and lined with troops: strong escorts of Lancers and Cuirassiers in very beautiful order, the Chamberlains riding two and two, many in magnificent costumes. The State Carriages of the highest nobility and of the Court: at length the Bride herself in a carriage and eight, looking remarkably well, and doing the thing most gracefully. It was very handsome, and gave a great idea of ancient grandeur. All was over by 6, and then dined at Embassy. . . . *24th.*—In the morning received visits from Field Marshal Radetzky, looking wonderfully fresh and active and full of life and energy, Prince Windischgrätz,[2] Count Buol, etc. Then paid visits of form to the Empress Mother, the Archduchess Sophia,[3] a very charming person, the Duchess Maria of Bavaria, mother of the Bride, Grand Duke Tuscany, etc. Also called on the Augustus Coburgs,[4] who are living in a house over our heads. . . . At 6.30 went to the Augustiner Kirche, where the marriage of the Emperor took place. I was in a Tribune high up with the Coburgs, Wasa,[5] and Alexander of Hesse,[6] and we

1854
ÆT. 35

Marriage of the Emperor

[1] Austrian Prime Minister.

[2] Field-Marshal in the Austrian army.

[3] Princess Sophia of Bavaria, mother of the Emperor of Austria.

[4] Cousin of Prince Albert (Prince Consort). Married Princess Clementine d'Orléans, daughter of Louis Philippe.

[5] Prince Gustav Wasa, son of King of Sweden (Wasa line).

[6] Prince Alexander of Hesse (in Russian service), uncle of Grand Duke Louis of Hesse.

1854 Æt. 35 did not see very well, but it was a magnificent sight. The Church crowded with spectators, and the whole most imposing. The young couple acquitted themselves well, and she gave a very pleasing impression. 28*th*.— . . . Presented the Queen's autograph letter to the Emperor at 2, when he received me most graciously and had a very long and interesting conversation with me on the state of affairs in the East which gave me every satisfaction. 29*th*.— . . . Called at Buol's at 2 and had a most important conversation with him, when he read the text of the treaty between Austria and Prussia,[1] which is most satisfactory to my mind. . . . Dined at Esterhazy's. 30*th*.— . . . The Emperor came to see me at 2. I had a very agreeable conversation with him. He pleased me very much indeed. Took leave of him. . . . Said good-bye to our good friends the Westmorlands and started for Trieste at 9 o'c. carrying with me a most favourable impression of my visit to Vienna.

The Austrian attitude

It might seem at first blush that the Duke's efforts had been unavailing, but it must be remembered that Austria undertook a conditional co-operation, and that the co-operation was not given simply because the necessary conditions did not arise. Her influence, however, was exerted throughout the war in the interests of peace. How near she came to active intervention may be gathered from the fact that in the summer of 1854 she was on the point of signing a convention, offensive and defensive, with Great Britain and France, upon the basis of the engagement taken by her (Austria) to obtain the evacuation of the Principalities by force, if refused at her requirement, and that this arrangement was only arrested by the announcement that the Russian troops had received orders to evacuate the Principalities. To prove that Austria was in earnest in her determination to stand by the allies in opposing Russian aggression, it is only necessary to point to the

[1] The arrangement was for mutual defence in case the interests of either Power were placed in jeopardy by the progress of the war.

undoubted fact that in the last days of August she would have had 300,000 men assembled on the frontier of Moldavia, and that among other exertions for the equipment of this force she had bought for the army since the month of February 1854 some 62,000 horses. As a great authority wrote at the time, 'The assembling of such a force is a tolerable proof of the sincerity of the Government in its adherence to its engagements. It could not be destined to the support of Russia.' 1854 ÆT. 35

The journey from Trieste was uneventful, and on May 9 the Duke's ship entered the Dardanelles, where he landed under a salute from the French fleet. 'Found a most singular scene on landing, French English and Turks, all mixed up together, the two former on the most cordial and friendly terms. . . . Returned on board and sailed soon after six.'

In Constantinople

Diary, May 10.—Reached Constantinople. Went ashore at once and found Lord Raglan at the Embassy. . . . Went to see Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, our Ambassador, with whom had a very long talk and found him extremely civil. Then returned on board, and proceeded to the Palace of Ferez, where I took up my quarters, the Sultan having placed it at my disposal. On arrival was welcomed by the Sultan's brother-in-law. Went at once to the Palace of the Sultan and was received by him. . . . The conversation was neither long nor interesting. Upon leaving him went below and sat some time smoking pipes with the Pashas present. Went over to the Barracks at Scutari in the afternoon, and was most enthusiastically received by the troops wherever I went. All appeared to be in the best health and spirits and seem as comfortable and happy as possible. A Pasha is appointed to attend me at all times. *22nd.*— . . . The mail has come in from England with lots of letters from the Queen, etc. All highly satisfactory and everybody much pleased at the success of my mission to Vienna and at the manner in which I had conducted it.

1854 ÆT. 35 The Radical Press attacked me for delaying on the road, but I was well defended by the Duke of Newcastle in the House of Lords and by *The Times*.

Letters from the Duke to his aunt

The entries that follow in the diary deal with the operations at the seat of war, and do not find their proper place in this memoir. Extracts, however, must be given from a remarkable series of letters which the Duke, in the midst of all the preoccupations of an active campaign, found time to pen to his aunt the Duchess of Gloucester. The letters began in Paris, and were continued on the way to the front and in the Crimea.

Vienna, April 29.— . . . Just one line before I go, to say that I am quite delighted with my stay here and with the kindness of the Emperor of Austria towards me. The Fêtes were magnificent,[1] the entrance of the Empress into Vienna, the marriage ceremony, the State Dinner, Theatre, and Ball, were all magnificent, and gave one a very high impression of the wealth and splendour of this country and its aristocracy. Everybody has been most kind to me, and I cannot say too much of the good feeling that has been shown from all quarters. The young Empress is most pleasing; I had an opportunity of speaking a good deal with her the other day at dinner and she speaks English to perfection and seems intelligent and wonderfully well-mannered for so very young a person. To-morrow I leave this for Trieste, and thence direct to Constantinople by way of Corfu. Lord Raglan, I find, was delayed at Marseilles by the badness of the weather till last Saturday, so that I hope to be there soon after he gets there, and meantime my having been here has, I hope, been productive of good results, for it has certainly been well taken here, of that I feel convinced, and I am much pleased with all I have heard here. . . . Lady Westmorland is not at all well and wants a change of air, but they cannot move at this moment, it not being at all desirable he should leave his post when such

[1] For the Emperor's marriage.

important affairs are going on. I think they have still a hope of Peace, but I confess I am not so sanguine. 1854 ÆT. 35

Constantinople, May 25.— . . . I have moved from the fine Palace I occupied in Europe to a smaller though extremely comfortable one in Asia, where I am close to the Troops, which I find an immense advantage, as I have so much to do in order to get the Division ready to take the field,—so that my time is very fully occupied. Lord Raglan returned the day before yesterday from Varna, where he had been with Maréchal St. Arnaud in order to concert measures with Omar Pasha. The result of his trip is that the Allies are shortly to go up to Varna. The Light Division, Browne's, goes up by sea to-morrow, and mine is soon to follow, and so on till we are all there, as well as the French. I believe this movement is made in consequence of the investment of Silistria by the Russians. I think it is a judicious one, for I think it is well to prove to the world how much we are in earnest, and I trust that this will make the Austrians declare with us. The loss of the steamer *Tiger* off Odessa is a great annoyance, but we must be prepared for these things. Captain Giffard, the Commander, has lost his leg, but it is said that both he and his crew, who were all taken, have been well treated by the Russians. The ship has been blown up. Yesterday the Queen's birthday was duly noticed by the entire Army. Nothing can be better than the health and good spirits of the Troops. Lord Raglan is delighted, I think, at having got the 'Blues' and we are all equally happy at it. I cannot tell you how much I have been gratified by all the kind expressions that have been made about me by all my friends, with reference to my Mission to Vienna. The Queen and Clarendon have written to me the handsomest letters, and nothing could be more flattering than all that was said upon the subject by the Duke of Newcastle in the House. Pray tell Redesdale with my best regards that I am extremely indebted to him for his having taken my part so gallantly and having elicited so handsome a reply from Newcastle. I care very little for the attacks made upon me so long as my friends back me up so well as they

1854 Æt. 35 have now so kindly done. . . . I have not seen much of Prince Napoleon, he is very civil and attentive to me and determined to be on good terms, but, from all I have heard and seen of him, I am afraid he is not good for much. . . .

The Queen's letter to which His Royal Highness refers above was as follows :

Buckingham Palace, May 3, 1854.—Lord Clarendon showed me your long letter to him, and I am anxious to express to you our pleasure and satisfaction at the manner in which you acquitted yourself of your delicate mission at Vienna. We and the Government think your letters most interesting, and the news they contained very important.

We are all well and full of anxiety for news from the East and the North. May God bless and protect you and all our brave countrymen engaged in this cause of right which we have undertaken to defend.

Lord Clarendon wrote :

May 8, 1854.— . . . I hope Your Royal Highness will not suppose me capable of an unmeaning compliment when I say that it would have been impossible for any experienced diplomatist to have conducted matters (under circumstances certainly not favourable to business) with more judgment and ability and to have rendered an account of them in a manner more accurate and interesting. I lost no time in transmitting Your Royal Highness's letters to the Queen, who, as well as Prince Albert, was greatly pleased with them, and I can assure Your Royal Highness that Her Majesty's opinions are those also of the Government. We consider that Your Royal Highness's mission has succeeded beyond our expectations, as it has been the means of obtaining information that was much needed but which we should otherwise have been without, and it has served to revive those friendly feelings on the part of Austria towards England which have too long been suspended and which we must now more than ever endeavour to cultivate. The distinguished reception given to Your Royal Highness by the Emperor must have been all the more gratifying as

Your Royal Highness felt its political importance, and I rejoice that you found in his Imperial Majesty the judgment, decision, and sincerity that we believed him to possess. He appears to be just the Sovereign that Austria in her present position requires, and I hope he is destined to take a great and useful part in European affairs. . . . 1854 ÆT. 35

(*To the Duchess of Gloucester*)

Constantinople, June 5.— . . . We are still here, and possibly may continue here for some time longer, or may follow the Light Division to Varna. I believe it is pretty certain that mine will be the next Division to be moved, and we are quite ready for a start, and, as far as we are all concerned, I believe should not be very sorry to leave this place, for it is a great bore remaining idle here. . . . The Turks are holding out well in Silistria, and the Russians were certainly repulsed the other day, in an attack they made on the works of that place, with considerable loss. By all I can hear, the Austrians are doing exactly what they promised, and I doubt not will ere long have joined their forces with ours, which is everything to us. Prussia is the only country that gives us uneasiness ; the King's conduct is to me inexplicable, and that too after signing the treaty with Austria ! Lord Raglan is quite well again I am happy to say. From Greece the news is good : the King has given way in everything and has promised to behave better in future. . . . I am glad to find that some of us are a little missed by the Society of London. Edward [1] is getting on very well in the Guards, he is much liked and behaves very well. The French are beginning to move up from Gallipoli towards the Balkans, so that ere long I hope our forces will all be more concentrated than we have yet been. But people in England must not be in too great a hurry ! This seems the great fault, for we cannot move till fully prepared, and it takes some time to get an Army in order to take the field. Our Cavalry and Artillery are not yet fully come out, and, till they are, what can we do against a most powerful

[1] Prince Edward of Saxe-Weimar.

1854 ÆT. 35

enemy? It never would do to risk the forces unprepared. I will write as often as I can, but should we move from here I may have a little more difficulty in this respect—in that case you must forgive me. . . .

In camp near Varna

Camp near Varna, June 18.—The order for our embarcation came upon us rather suddenly at last, and on Tuesday (13th) I left Constantinople with my Division, reached this place the following morning, and disembarked at once, and am now encamped with my people close to the town expecting to move more forward in a day or two, so as to make room for other troops. This is a most dreadful place, the picture of filth and misery, but it is singularly bustling, since French and English are all disembarking in great numbers, and near and around the town in all directions. We expect the concentration of the entire Armies here, and as soon as possible I presume we shall be marched forward with the view of still saving Silistria if this be possible, which, however, I confess I very much doubt. Should it fall, I really have no idea what we shall do, but I expect we shall have a hardish time of it, for though the country is fertile and beautiful to look at, I cannot say much in favour of its inhabitants, and I much fear they are more against us than for us, which is very awkward I think when we once begin to move. However! . . . if the Austrians will but declare themselves, the campaign will be an easy one enough. . . . I have grown so brown from exposure to the sun and air that I think you would hardly know me.

June 29.— . . . The raising of the Siege of Silistria will have astonished and delighted all in England as much as it has us here, where we were all taken by surprise. As yet we know not the real cause of it, nor to what extent the Russians have retired, but we imagine it must be owing to our arrival here in force, and to the firm language and attitude assumed by Austria. . . . Some imagine the Russians are going to withdraw behind the Pruth. In that case I presume it is with a view to further negotiations, when I fear the greatest of all difficulties would arise, as the German Princes would be satisfied with much less I imagine than the Western Powers. Should, however, a Peace and a

good one really result it would be a very great event, for certainly these people are hardly worth fighting for! though undoubtedly the Turks have behaved most nobly in the defence of Silistria, which is a bright page in their history. 1854 Æt. 35

July 29.— . . . I am sorry to say that our men have been rather more sickly of late and we have had some cases of cholera, so we thought it better to change our quarters, and have moved up upon some higher ground, and I hope and think more healthy, where I trust we shall shake all this off. . . . As to our future movements I really know nothing as yet. It is supposed that we are to go somewhere by sea, but whether this is to be the Crimea or Anapa, I know not. . . . I hardly think so great an operation as the Crimea will be undertaken this year, as it has got so late. . . . I still hope confidently in Austria, but the doubts and hangings back in that quarter are painful and much to be regretted, though I know they have a very difficult card to play with Prussia, which is always throwing obstacles in the way. . . .

August 9.—I should not much wonder if we were ere long to embark and find ourselves on some more distant shore, possibly the Crimea, to which place the good people of England seem quite determined to send us at all hazards and risks. The Government appears very weak and is too much guided by the Press, which knows very little, but on that account writes all the more. It is very provoking, all this, for I think the abuse of our Commanders is not judicious and only apt to annoy and do mischief, but I am told this was always so, even during the Peninsular War. . . . Lord Raglan continues well, in spite of all the annoyance he must feel, and I only hope that between heat of climate and abuse from home it may not prove too much for him.

Lord Raglan's difficulties

Varna, August 19.— . . . You will have heard we have had our people attacked by cholera and have suffered greatly from this dreadful epidemic, as well as from fever. The Fleet are as bad as the Armies, and the French have suffered infinitely more than ourselves. I hope it is going off now,

1854 Æt. 35 but it has been a very sad drawback to all our proceedings and operations, and has both delayed and to some extent disheartened us, but still I think, when we get something to do, the men will be all the better for it. . . . We have now moved again nearer to Varna, and I for my part have been for a few days into town to get all right again. I find it, however, so exceedingly disagreeable and nasty that I infinitely prefer my tent, and mean to go back to that again as soon as possible. . . . We can count upon Austria as a certainty, I am very glad to say. . . .

Therapia, August 28.— . . . I expect about the 2nd September we shall be off for the Crimea. It is a great and hazardous operation, but I trust it may all go off well; my regret is that it is begun so late in the year. I think it would have been better had we made a start a little sooner. . . .

Crimea, September 18.— . . . I am well and in excellent spirits. We landed all right. . . . I doubt not we shall have some hard work, but I do not question the result for a moment. We are already getting much more comfortable, and have as yet not been molested at all. . . . We know literally nothing of the Russians as yet, but imagine that if they had been in force they would have attacked us before now, which, however, they have not done. Our men have wonderfully improved in health and spirits, and we are all looking forward to a brilliant campaign after our long inactivity. . . .

Alma, September 22.—My dearest dear Aunt and Mother, though I wrote a line yesterday in great haste, I find it is not gone, and I therefore add a few more particulars of the great affair of the 20th. The newspapers will give you full accounts no doubt, but I will just give a short description of my own. On the evening of the 19th we first came in sight of the enemy, but it was merely Cavalry, with a few guns. These were soon driven back by our Cavalry, supported by Horse Artillery guns, which made excellent practice. On the morning of the 20th the whole Army was under arms at 7 o'clock. The French were on the right, and we on the left. We marched in order of battle across a plain, and found the Russians posted in

Battle of the Alma

a very strong position, to defend the passage of the River. 1854
It appears there were about 55,000 men with 50 guns, Æt. 35
entrenched. I was on the left with my Division, in support of Sir George Browne. The action began on the right, when the French crossed the river, close to the sea, and ascended the heights. They were not much opposed till they reached the top, and the first Artillery gun was fired at 1½ o'clock. When this fire increased the whole of the line took it up and gradually advanced. Browne's Division was in front of the village, Alma, which was in flames, a heavy battery of at least 12 guns playing upon the road and the bridge. At about 3 o'clock he passed the stream and went to the attack. His Regiments got into the Battery but were very hard pressed. My Division was a little more to the left. I saw the difficulties with which he had to contend, and went forward in line to support. We had to get through a vineyard and the river and were exposed to a murderous fire of grape from the Battery in our front. The Light Division, being hard pressed, gave way a little and got mixed up with the Fusilier Guards, who suffered severely, but the rest of the Division, having formed under the bank, was able to advance steadily, which it did, and taking the place of the Light Division, went boldly to the front, firing whilst so doing. We then soon carried the Battery, ascended the heights in rear of it and to the left of it, and the day was won. We have, however, experienced a great loss! But by God's blessing both myself and my whole Staff have been miraculously spared in spite of the fearful fire to which all were exposed. I had some narrow escapes and Jim had his horse shot under him. The Division has lost about 400 killed and wounded, and the loss of the Army amounts to 2,090 men and 112 officers killed and wounded. Amongst the Guards we have, killed, Capt. Cust, Coldstream, wounded, some very severely, Colonels Percy, Haygarth, Berkeley, Dalrymple, Hepburn, Captains Baring, Lord Chewton, Lord Ennismore, Bulwer, Bulkeley, Astley, Gipps, Annesley. It was a very serious affair, but the moral effect will, I trust, be proportionately great also, and it appears that the Russians

1854 Æt. 35

have abandoned the idea of again resisting in the open field and have retired into Sevastopol, where we shall now have to follow them. God grant us further success. I am grateful to have been thus spared the fate of so many of my brave comrades. It is said that the Russians expected to hold this position three weeks and had their entire Army there; they have held it but three hours! Mentschikoff was here himself, and his carriage and servants were taken.—God bless and protect you, my dear Aunt and Mother. Pray give all these details to all relations and friends, not forgetting dearest Augusta. Your most affectionate nephew and son, GEORGE.

A pathetic incident in the battle of the Alma was described by the Duke of Cambridge to his mother and sisters on his return home. The story is given as he told it. When the British soldiers had mounted the hill at the battle of the Alma, and the Russians had retreated, our men discovered a Russian General—with both legs shot off—lying on the crest of the hill, in a dying condition. Greatly impressed at the indomitable pluck and bravery of the British soldiers, he expressed a wish to see the officer in command who had effected this victory. Upon the Duke of Cambridge being told this, he hastened to the spot to see the wounded General. Upon seeing His Royal Highness, the Russian exclaimed, 'Mais je veux voir le Général, pas ce jeune homme-ci.' 'Mais, c'est moi, Monsieur,' replied the Duke. Thereupon the two embraced and shook hands, and soon the Russian General died.

On the heights near Sevastopol

Heights near Sevastopol, October 3.— . . . We are now encamped on the Heights within view but just out of range of Sevastopol, at which, however, I have had one or two excellent looks. It is a fine looking place, but certainly appears to have all its strength concentrated on the sea side, whereas the land defences are nothing very formidable—though they are hard at work improving them by earthworks, which are being thrown up in all directions.

Our Engineers, however, say that we command them completely from the Heights upon which we are. . . . The Russians have sunk at the mouth of the harbour eight Line of Battle Ships, so as to prevent the entrance of our Fleet. This has been done in such a hurry that it is said that guns, stores and arms were sunk with them. They are evidently in a great fright, and Mentschikoff is said to have harangued the Garrison to give them confidence, and told them not to despair, as a large army was marching to their relief. This we presume to be Oster-Sacken from Odessa and General Wrangel from Anapa. These, with the remains of the Army defeated on the Alma, will make up a large force, but they are greatly dispirited and will be fatigued from their long march, and I doubt their attacking us in the very strong position we at present occupy. Still, it will be well to get Sevastopol over, for delay would be a great disadvantage to us. We have as yet done nothing but land our siege train and stores, but it is hoped that ground may be broken to-night and thus the work of destruction commenced. It is said we shall have a fire of 200 guns upon them, and in that case I doubt not that they will be overwhelmed by the fire. My Division has been detained down at Balaklava till yesterday, covering the approaches to that place. This has given my men time to recover a little from their fatigues. Yesterday we marched up here, and are now on the extreme right of the position, in support of the Light Division. I regret to say that the cholera is again visiting us very severely, and is thinning our ranks sadly. . . . Winter quarters at this advanced season are most desirable, and, therefore, the sooner we complete our work, the better for us all. . . . Maréchal St. Arnaud has been seized with the cholera, and, though better, it is feared he will hardly reach France alive. He has resigned and Canrobert has succeeded him. He is said to be an excellent officer and is a man I like much. . . . While writing, the music of great guns is going on. They are constantly firing from Sevastopol upon some of our Army or Navy, but have as yet hurt nobody. . . .

1854
ÆT. 35

1854 Æt. 35 *On board the Caradoc, November* 8.—My dearest Mother, Aunt and Sisters. By God's merciful providence I have been providentially spared, and am enabled to write to you this day to tell you that we have had a fearful and desperate battle and have gained the day, but that our victory has been gained at a most fearful sacrifice. Though you will see far better accounts of what happened in the Papers than I can give you, I will endeavour shortly to relate what occurred. On Sunday last, just at daybreak, firing was heard to our extreme right front, where the former attack had been made on the 2nd Division. I hurried out and found that Division hotly engaged and very hard pressed. There is no doubt that they had been, more or less, taken by surprise. On coming up I found no time was to be lost, and took the Division or rather the Brigade of Guards with the guns to the right of the position. We pushed forward and found heavy masses of Russians to our front, in a small Battery we had erected in front of our line. I saw that there was no help for it and that we must re-take this—this was accordingly done, after a sharp struggle, and the Guards held it. My poor horse was then hit in the leg, and I was obliged to get on an Orderly Dragoon's horse,—I was myself struck in the arm, but most fortunately only grazed without broken skin, though my two coats and shirt are completely torn by the ball, which I think was turned by a pair of gold buttons that I wear with your hair in them. I saw that the moment was exceedingly critical, and hurried back to drag up more troops. Sir George Cathcart, poor man, was at that instant coming up with his Division—I rode up to him and pointed out to him what I thought he should do to help, but he unfortunately was not of my opinion, and would send his troops into the valley to my right, instead of their being placed as my support on the left. I then found heavy masses of troops coming up on our left flank, and saw that we stood a good chance of getting cut off, but my men, led on with ardour, had joined in the 4th Division below, and I could not get them back as quickly as I wished. Upon this I went with Jim to seek for other troops, when,

Inkerman

on my endeavouring to get back to our position, I found the very thing had happened that I dreaded—the Russians had got in between the 1st and 2nd Divisions and the former, with the 4th, Cathcart's, were isolated. With difficulty Jim and myself avoided being taken prisoners, having to ride for it between a Russian line of fire and that of some of our own men. Fortunately some French Battalions then came up in support, and the Russians, who had then made their fourth attack, were driven back with fearful slaughter.[1] On mustering the Guards at first I could 1854 Æt. 35

[1] Dr. Anton Tien, some time Oriental Secretary on Lord Raglan's Staff during the Crimean campaign, writing in 1860, gives the following interesting account of the Duke's escape: 'It is with a feeling of thankfulness that I look back to Sunday, 5th November, 1854, that eventful day of the Battle of Inkerman, when with my valued friend the late Captain Sir William Peel, R.N., of the Frigate *Diamond*, who commanded Battery No. 2 Naval Brigade, we were, under God, the means of saving H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge and the handful of Guards under him. During the night of the 4th of November thick mist and drizzling cold rain prevailed and continued almost the whole of the 5th, obscuring the air and embarrassing the movements of our troops; at early dawn we were aroused by the roar of Cannon and Artillery, not the ordinary cannonade between trench and fortress, but a quick and vigorous outburst of shot and shell; the thirty-two pounder shells coming through the air, and bursting into fragments with their harsh grating "*Serisht*," the most hated of all battle sounds, and underlying quick rattle of musketry The Russian attack was sudden and simultaneous all along the line, from the French at Kamiesh to the English right at Mount Inkerman, about the red sand battery; the *hottest* attack, however, was on the Second Division, Home Ridge, which was commanded by Sir De Lacy Evans (he was absent from illness and General Pennefather took the Command), the Guards Brigade, and also a little later, near the Windmill. The Guards had already driven back, and down the "*Kitspur*" ravine, five or six times a huge attacking party of Russians, and were hard pressed, as they were attacked by about 20,000 men led by General Pauloff, and the Second Division close by was attacked by about 40,000 men led by General Soimonoff, who was killed in front of Second Division, and also of the Guards. An enormous slaughter of Russians and many English took place.

'Captain Peel hurried to his battery, saw that everything there was in a proper state; came back to the Second Division to fetch his india-rubber bed from the tent of Captain Conolly of the 30th Regiment, where he slept the previous night, but found most of the tents of the Second Division, especially those of the 30th Regiment, had been destroyed by the Russian fire from the "*Shell Hill*"; Captain Conolly and his servant Cassidy were killed. I had just returned with the A.D.C., Colonel Steel, from delivering the General's orders to the Turkish troops, and met

1854 ÆT. 35 collect but three companies; however, by their gallantry and courage the remainder were saved, though for a long time cut off and having no ammunition left. For the remainder of the day the English Troops held the position, in which they were most fearfully shelled, whilst the French pushed forward and followed the retreating Russian Army, which saved all its guns, I regret to say, though the loss in men to them has been quite awful. We for our part have been dreadful sufferers—the whole loss amounts to at least 2,500 men, that of the Brigade of Guards alone to 589 killed and wounded, out of them 12 officers killed and 21 wounded. The general officers have suffered frightfully—poor Sir George Cathcart, Generals Strangways and Goldie were killed, Generals Bentinck, Buller, Torrens, Adams and Sir George Browne are wounded. My A.D.C. Clifton

Captain Peel on the back of the "Home Ridge" behind the Headquarters. He asked me to go with him to the red sand bag battery. On our way we passed through many killed and wounded—English and Russian. Bullets, shell and shot were whizzing in all directions. A Russian Officer, who was badly wounded, cried, "Water! Give me water to drink!" I dismounted and gave him some from my flask, and he said with great animation—"Tell your people to come out of that battery, they are going to be surrounded." And, in fact, they were nearly cut off by a large force, the Irkutsk, Yakutsk, and other Regiments. I told Captain Peel what the wounded man had said, and sure enough we saw with our field glasses through the mist that the Irkutsk Regiment from the ground behind the Guards on the slopes of "Mount Head" were firing on the red sand bag battery as they came down, whilst the Yakutsk and other Regiments were advancing upon the left front of the Guards. Captain Peel conveyed this intelligence to Captain Higginson of the Grenadier Guards, and he to H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, who immediately ordered the men to fall in, put the Colours in the midst and made a rush, with fixed bayonets, at the Irkutsk Regiment which was coming down the hillside, and cut their way through the fire. The Duke of Cambridge rode past the enemy with his A.D.C., Major Macdonald, but not unscathed, for he was hurt by a ball which grazed his arm, and his charger was shot under him. Half of the soldiery who were under him (a small body of men they seemed to be, possibly not more than 200 or 300) scraped past the Russian soldiers, and so saved the Colours. About half of the troops were killed and wounded during the rush. So the Russian Officer's important and timely information, conveyed through Captain Peel, saved the Duke of Cambridge, the handful of soldiery, and the Colours of the Grenadier Guards. Captain Peel presented me to H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, who still remembers my connexion with the Army in the Crimea, and can recall the incident.'

is wounded in the cheek and had his horse killed under him, but thank God he is himself not severely hurt—Jim had his horse also shot under him. I understand from the prisoners that two Russian Grand Dukes have arrived with large reinforcements of troops, at least two fresh Divisions, that they came by waggons and carts from Odessa in 9 days and are the Corps of Generals Dannenberg and Liprandi, who have been in the Principalities, and who I suppose can be spared, as Austria seems fully determined to do nothing for us. It then appears that these young Princes abused all the Generals and Admirals, and said they were not fit for their positions, and had allowed themselves to be most shamefully beaten,—whereupon a great attack was determined upon and carried out with these fresh troops as I have explained it. It is generally imagined that in this action the Russians have lost nearly 20,000 men, which if true is certainly most fearful. Our position now has become a very serious one, and what is to be done I really hardly know, though I consider it next to impossible to remain here in the winter, as I find is the wish and intention of the Government. . . . We have now but 14,000 left out of 24,000 with which we landed in the Crimea. . . . I myself am so completely worn out that I have been advised to go on board a ship for a few days for change of air, and they even want me to go to Constantinople. . . . The officers of the Guards killed are Pakenham, Sir Robert Newman, and Neville, Grenadiers—Dawson, Cowell, McKennan, Greville, Disbrowe, Bouverie, Ramsden and Elliot, Coldstream—and Colonel Blair of the Fusiliers. The wounded are too numerous to mention! but amongst others are Lord Charles Fitzroy, Halkett, Sir Robert Fergusson, Fielding, Baring, Sturt. . . . Bentinck is not very bad, but still it has shaken him much and he will have to go home, I fear, though Lord Raglan is very anxious he should not. . . .

1854 ÆT. 35

After the battle of Inkerman the Queen wrote to the Duchess of Cambridge to congratulate her upon the safety of her son :

1854 Æt. 35

The Queen and her brave troops

My dear Aunt,—I must wish you joy that our precious George has been preserved. God watched mercifully over him in the glorious battle of the 5th. How many have fallen—four generals killed and five wounded. We live in a state of terrible tension and excitement, for though we have no son there yet all our heroes are so precious to us and we take such deep interest in their sufferings that it is almost the same thing. You expressed it so truthfully and beautifully in writing to Mama when you said how proud I must be that these brave troops are my children. Yes, dear Aunt, I am greatly proud of it I must say. All the more what they have to suffer and endure so deeply affects and upsets me; my good Albert thinks of nothing else. What then must your feelings be! Tell me honestly, would you with Mary like to come here towards the end of next week, or beginning of the following? You would find no party, as during all this time we have had very few people here. Albert greets you heartily, and also Mary.

Ever your affectionate Niece,

V. R.

To the Duke himself, Her Majesty wrote:

Windsor Castle, November 18, 1854.—Thank God! that you are safe after this fearful but glorious Battle of the 5th. But how many have we to deplore! four General officers killed and five wounded, and how many of them we know may not have fallen! It is dreadful to wait in uncertainty till we know the fate of so many! Alas! *one sad* and *irreparable* loss we know already, that of poor Sir G. Cathcart! This is a serious public loss, for he was a most distinguished officer and an excellent and able man! Poor Gen. Strangways too, after waiting so long for advancement—to be killed! War is indeed *awful*. It must be fearful to witness, and the anxiety and uncertainty for the future, with the privations, which you have all to endure, most trying to everyone. But, my dear George, you none of you *can* know what it is for *us*, who are at home, living in agonies of suspense and uncertainty from day to day, hour to hour, *trembling* and *hoping*! It is

a most awful time of excitement and agitation to us all, and then to see and know so many poor families in uncertainty for the loss of husbands, sons, brothers, friends, etc., is *heartbreaking*! But, in the midst of this all, there are great consolations and many causes of pride, which are—the heroic and *glorious* conduct of our noble troops. I cannot say, dear George, what feelings of pride fill my heart when I read, which I never can without *emotion*, the accounts of such *gallantry*, such *devotion*, such courage under privations! It has, besides, raised the feeling of the whole country. There is but one unanimous feeling of pride and sympathy in the *whole* nation, among high and low, which is *most gratifying* to witness. We think of *nothing* else. If we *could both* be with you and share your toils and dangers we should be happy. I *never* regretted more than I have done these last few months that I was a *poor woman* and not a man!

1854 Æt. 35

I hope that you will soon be well provided with many warm things and that reinforcements will be daily coming in to cheer you all. God grant this fearful siege may soon be over for you all!

With his health broken by recurring attacks of sickness it might have seemed to the Duke that Fate had done its worst. But other terrors were in store; within a few days a storm of almost unexampled violence swept down upon the ships lying outside Balaklava harbour, carrying havoc and death in its train. The story of his escape is told by the Duke in his diary:

The storm at Balaklava

Tuesday, November 14.—This was without any exception the most fearful day of my life. At about 5 o'c. this morning, the wind, which had hitherto been strong, began to freshen and was soon a gale, and by 8 o'clock it was blowing a perfect hurricane, with a most fearful sea on. It came upon us so suddenly and unexpectedly that we could not get to sea and were obliged to lie *there* (just outside Balaklava harbour) making the best of it and hoping for the best. It

1854 Æt. 35 soon, however, became evident that our position was a most critical one and that we were in great danger from our proximity to the shore and the coast, a fearfully steep and rocky one. The transports near us were driving fearfully at their anchors, and the *Rip-van-Winkle* as nearly as possible got foul of us, when we must have gone. Providentially this was avoided, but the unfortunate transport soon was ashore, and all hands but two or three perished. At 10, our rudder was carried away, and then all the upper deck guns and shot were thrown overboard. This lightened the ship considerably and no doubt principally contributed to saving her. At 12 two Anchors went out of her, and we had now only one left and our steam that could possibly save us. At 2 a thunderbolt fell and struck the ship, with a heavy shower of hail. This cleared the atmosphere, and the wind went gradually down, though the sea continued as fearful as ever. Had we had a rudder, we would have made a start, as several others did, but, totally helpless without one, we were obliged to remain in our most critical position about 200 yards from the shore. Thus we lay all night, hoping for the best, and a most fearful and awful 24 hours we spent, but God's Mercy came to our rescue and we were most providentially saved. 15*th*.—After a most anxious night and no sleep, the morning broke calm and with only a heavy swell on. A boat was sent in for a tug, which at length arrived at about 12, took us in tow and brought us safely in to Balaklava harbour, where we received the congratulations of our friends on our most providential escape. The scene both inside and outside the harbour was marvellous in the extreme. Eight transports were lost outside, including the unfortunate steamer *Prince*, and with the exception of about 50 all hands perished. All the other transports without exception that were outside were dismasted. Inside too the damage done was fearful, the vessels in endeavouring to run in having regularly cut one another down by 'fouling.' Never was there such a sight, and the loss in stores and provision for the army is most distressing. . . . I found

THE STORM IN BALAKLAVA BAY ON 14TH NOVEMBER, 1854.
H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge was on board H.M. steam frigate *Retribution* (Captain the Hon. James Drummond).

(From an Engraving after a Painting by Lieut. Montague O'Reilly, R.N.)

myself so unwell that I wrote for leave to proceed to Constantinople. 1854 Æt. 35

Before he was compelled to embark on board the *Caradoc* the Duke had realised that all was not well with our forces and that their sufferings from the rigours of the coming winter would be intense. His views on these questions are set out in a letter which he wrote to the Queen on November 2 from the Heights above Sevastopol : The needs of the army

My dear Cousin,—I have long delayed writing to you, hoping from day to day to be able to tell you of the fall of Sevastopol, but this operation has, alas ! proved itself so far more protracted and difficult than we at first anticipated that it really is now impossible to tell how much longer it may last, and I, therefore, cannot let another post leave us without thanking you and Albert most sincerely for the very kind and flattering letters I received from you upon hearing of the Battle of the Alma. I am truly grateful, I assure you, for my personal safety, and with you deplore the heavy loss we there sustained. Certainly the moment of victory was a heart-stirring moment to us all, and to none more than myself, who found myself providentially saved, whereas so many of my brave Division around me had fallen. War, however, is a fearful scene, and I assure you the scenes we had afterwards and which we have since witnessed have given me the greatest horror of it. Still we at least have the feeling that we are fighting in a just cause, and with God's blessing I trust we may ere long accomplish our task and then may look forward to peace. Still, I fear we may yet have some hard blows to give and receive, and the season is advancing with rapid strides. The cold is now intense, and I assure you on these heights with frost on the ground, in small tents, and without the least warmth or comfort, it is a most unpleasant position to be in. We, therefore, pray for a speedy termination to this dreary work, and then hope and pray for winter quarters, for how it will be possible to exist without covering for either man or horse, I cannot imagine. We have an

1854 Æt. 35

immense number of sick, and it is with difficulty we keep well. This army wants a thorough rest and reorganisation, otherwise I fear it will be found by next Spring very few of us will be left. . . . The firing has now continued more or less for nearly a month, and, as fast as one Russian Battery is destroyed, another seems to spring up. Still I hope from all accounts the Garrison is much disheartened and has suffered severely, and, as the French are getting very close to the town, I trust that in a few days more they may be able to make a lodgment in it. We shall then see whether or not the Garrison will hold out much longer. The Ships will, I fear, prove our great difficulty—of these there are still, I believe, 20 left, and they will rake the whole town, I apprehend, after we have entered it. Our great delay has been on the part of the French, and we can do nothing till they get in, on our left. We had two very exciting days last week. One was a very sharp attack on Balaklava, which fortunately was saved, tho' our Allies the Turks ran away and abandoned their guns in the most shameful manner. It was on this day that our Heavy Dragoons made a splendid and most successful charge, entirely routing a very superior force of Russian Cavalry, and afterwards, by a sad mistake, our Light Cavalry Brigade made one of the most brilliant but senseless attacks that ever could have been imagined, and suffered most severely. In fact they are more than half destroyed. Still, the gallantry of the thing nothing that can be imagined could surpass. The following day a sortie was made, upon the position of General Evans.[1] About 8,000 came out of Sevastopol in the most determined manner, but they were so badly met by Evans with the 2nd Division, that they were completely routed, with very heavy loss indeed on their side. It is estimated at about 600 men. The amount of Artillery that we could bring against them was very fortunate and the 2nd Division behaved most nobly and Evans commanded them to perfection. On both occasions I had nothing to do, with my Division, further than to look on, as on both days I was sent in support. We are now extremely anxious about

[1] Sir De Lacy Evans, commanding 2nd Division.

Balaklava, in front of which the Russian Army is posted, and the whole Brigade of Highlanders are now there under Sir Colin Campbell [1] for its defence. I am thus reduced to a very small personage up here with my one Brigade of Guards, and now we have the whole Russian Army in our rear, and it is to this point that I specially look. Since the day at Balaklava they have established themselves in front of that place and to our rear, and are there in considerable strength, indeed I should think it was their whole Army, but how strong they are I do not know. It is an interesting and a critical moment, but I hope under God's blessing all will end well. We have had the misfortune to lose while here that excellent officer Colonel Hood of the Grenadier Guards, and Captain Rowley of the same regiment, and Captain Cameron. Mr. Davis and Edward Weimar have been wounded, the latter I am happy to say very slightly, by the bursting of a shell in the trenches; his escape is perfectly miraculous, he was contused all about his legs, so near him did the shell burst, but I believe the thickness of his cloak saved him. I am delighted it was no worse, for he is really a most excellent officer and has borne his privations and hardships in a most exemplary manner. . . . 1854 ÆT. 35

Tribute from the Duke of Newcastle

Little more remains to be told of the Duke's service in the field, but a tribute which the Duke of Newcastle paid to his conduct in a letter addressed to the Duchess of Cambridge after the battle of Inkerman must be quoted:

November 22.—Madam, Permit me to congratulate Your Royal Highness first upon the honourable mention of the Duke of Cambridge in Lord Raglan's Despatch published in the *Gazette* this day, and secondly upon the happy escape of his Royal Highness from the wounds and death which have deprived the Country of the services of so many of the gallant men in that Division of the Army which he commanded on the memorable 5th of November. In case Your Royal Highness should not have received letters after the battle from the Duke of Cambridge, I write to inform

[1] Afterwards Lord Clyde.

1854 Æt. 35

Your Royal Highness that Lord Raglan has advised the Duke of Cambridge to go down to Constantinople for a few days to recruit his strength, which has somewhat suffered from the anxieties of the Siege, the exposure to a tent life, and the want of rest. Lord Raglan expresses the hope that His Royal Highness will return to the Army very shortly in fresh strength and vigour—so that I think Your Royal Highness need be under no uneasiness on account of this temporary surrender of the command of the 1st Division. I must apologise to Your Royal Highness for the lateness of this communication, but when I inform Your Royal Highness that the business entailed upon me by the arrival of the Mail this morning kept me incessantly occupied in my office from 9 o'clock this morning till past 9 o'clock to-night, I am sure Your Royal Highness will acquit me of intentional neglect. Your Royal Highness will hear with pleasure that Lord Raglan speaks in the highest terms of praise of the services rendered to the Duke of Cambridge by Major Macdonald and of his admirable conduct in the field on every occasion. Your Royal Highness will, I am sure, greatly rejoice in the great and glorious victory of the British Arms,—almost eclipsing the brilliant day at the Alma. I have the honour to be, Madam, Your Royal Highness's obedient humble servant, NEWCASTLE.

CHAPTER VII

THE CRIMEAN WAR—(*continued*)

The Duke's shattered health—Verdict of the Medical Board—Miss Nightingale—Letters from the Queen and Prince Albert—His Royal Highness decides to proceed to Malta—Departure for England—Arrival home, and meeting with the Queen—Speech in the House of Lords—Dinner at the Mansion House—Visit of the Emperor and Empress of the French—The Duke receives the Crimean medal—Governorship of Gibraltar offered and declined—Death of Lord Raglan—Anxiety to return to the front—Visit to Liverpool—Invitation from the Emperor Napoleon—Peace negotiations—Council of War in Paris—The Queen's instructions—Opening of the Council—A suggestion of peace—Presentation of Crimean medals—The Duke's speech—Peace at hand—Return to England—Confirmation of the Princess Royal—Treaty of Peace signed—Naval review at Portsmouth—'Clarendon has done his work ably'—Peace celebrations

1854 Æt. 35

Departure for Constantinople

As the health of the Duke of Cambridge showed no improvement, His Royal Highness obtained leave to go to Constantinople for a time, and left the Crimea in the *Trent* on Saturday, November 25. The change of air, however, brought little alleviation; the attacks of fever and ague recurred with distressing regularity, and at the end of three weeks His Royal Highness was compelled to write to Lord Raglan for permission to return home on sick leave, 'as I could not in my present state of health face a winter Campaign in the Crimea.' In reply Lord Raglan suggested that it would be well if the Duke went before a medical board before going home, and in this course His Royal Highness gladly acquiesced.

Diary, December 27.—I had my medical board to-day, who agreed with Gibson[1] in thinking that I ought to go

[1] The Duke's personal physician.

1854 Æt. 35 home for the present, so I shall now be off as soon as I can. I am glad it is at length settled, for the doubt and uncertainty were most distressing to me. *29th.*—Went by boat to Scutari and accompanied Lady Stratford over the Hospital. I confess I was very well satisfied with all I saw there, and think they really have done as much as they possibly could to make it comfortable. However, it was a sad sight. Such a fearful number of sick and wounded men, many in the very last stages of disease. Miss Nightingale is a most unaffected nice looking person. On my return had a long visit from Prince Napoleon,[1] who was anxious to open his heart to me on the present state of affairs. I found him very disheartened and dejected.

It will not, perhaps, be out of place at this point to quote the Queen's opinion of Miss Nightingale: 'We have made Miss Nightingale's acquaintance,' she wrote in the autumn of 1856, in a letter to the Duke of Cambridge, 'and are delighted and very much struck with her great gentleness, simplicity, and wonderful clear and comprehensive head. I wish we had her at the War Office. Her modesty and unselfishness are really hardly to be believed, and she is so ladylike. She and her father are staying at Sir J. and Lady Clark's. . . .'

Diary, December 31.—I spent a very sad evening, and the New Year did not open to me under very bright auspices. Would that so much which has lately happened could be undone.

Writing home to his mother, aunt, and sisters, a few days before the end of the year, the Duke said:

. . . I think I have been rather less well again the last day or two. The weather is horrid, and this makes one feel chilly and ague-ish. . . . I certainly am now convinced my medical adviser is right in saying I am not now fit, at this season of the year, to return to camp. . . . If

[1] Prince Jerome's son ('Plon-plon').

1854 ÆT. 35

I go home now and get myself all right again . . . by next year, please God, should this sad war last, I shall be ready and fit to take my place again in the field with my brave and gallant comrades. . . . I hear that Admiral Dundas has resigned and is to be up here to-morrow on his way home. Poor General Adams [1] died here yesterday; his death was very unexpected. His wound was not at all serious, nor was that the cause of death, but he sank under fatigue and from a complete prostration of his nervous system. It is singular how we all have felt this more or less, the hardest men have given way under it. I cannot help thinking it must have been caused by our stay in Bulgaria, whence we at once fell into the hardships of a very hard campaign in the Crimea. . . .

Letters from the Queen and Prince Albert

Both the Queen and the Prince Consort watched the Duke's doings at the front with the keenest interest, as the following letters show:

(*From the Queen*)

Windsor Castle, December 25, 1854.

My dear George,—These lines will, I hope, find you quite well, and, I hope, back with your noble Division, and I trust that you will find things more comfortable, and some cover and shelter, which is most necessary. Let me wish you, in both our names, a happy Christmas, and a *happy*, and let us hope, a *glorious New Year*! Alas! '54 has been a sad one to *many*, *many* English families! Many brave and noble hearts have *bled* for a just and righteous Cause, and have left a glorious name behind them! Of course the *War*—the *Crimean*—is our constant object and thought—a *constant* anxiety to us all. At last I can send you my comforter, which is less romantic than the scarf embroidered by the Ladies for the Knights of old, but equally useful if not *more* so; I hope that you will wear it often. It has given me much pleasure to knit it. The whole female part of this Castle, beginning with the girls and myself and

[1] Commanded a brigade of infantry, 41st, 47th, and 49th, in the 2nd Division (Evans's), at Alma.

1854 ÆT. 35 ending with our maids, are all busily knitting for the Army, and our work is intended in the first instance for the Guards. Arthur received last night a new uniform according to the new Regulations, which he is going to put on to-day.

(*From Prince Albert*)

Windsor Castle, November 13, 1854.

DEAR GEORGE,—I must once again give you a sign of life. Yesterday Evening at length the despatches of the fights of the 25th and 26th reached us. We mourn the heavy losses of the brave Cavalry deeply, yet at the same time must admire the valour with which the poor fellows have fought. That we are in terrible anxiety concerning all you dear ones, you can imagine. One is a thousand times calmer when in the presence of danger, than at a distance, a prey to all the suppositions of one's imagination. Added to that, the d——d telegraphs which three times a day bring the most contradictory news (tell-lie-graphic, as Lady Morley calls them). In this way we get news through Petersburgh often 5 days earlier than through Bucharest, and naturally of the most unfavourable colour for us. Now, it is said that on the 4th breaches were made. God grant it may be true!

How much I regret that the Turks behaved so ill on the 25th, for now you will not care to have more of them, and yet all seems to me to depend upon reinforcements, and the Turkish are the only ones near at hand. Of ours, the 46th Regt. must, by now, have reached you, as also the 97th from Athens, and 62nd from Malta. The 90th goes from here, and 3,000 drafts are on the way to the Crimea, as also masses of warm clothing which you sorely need. The French at last are becoming anxious and will send out 20,000 more men, but they are very short of means of transport. We have again fitted out a fresh transport fleet which will be by the 25th at Toulon, and will transport thence 8,000 men. Unfortunately our recruiting goes very badly: the Grenadiers alone are short by 700 men, and the bounty has been doubled, the money to the bringer also, the standard again lowered an inch, and the age raised to 28.

God does not fail His own! and if any one has ever deserved His Help, it is you all! It does good to one's heart to see so much courage, endurance, devotion, cheerful obedience, and proves that our nation has not degenerated. But we need success! 1854 ÆT. 35

. . . . . .

May God's best blessing rest upon you.

Ever your faithful cousin,

ALBERT.

You will believe me that I deeply envy you, being in it all!

Windsor Castle, November 18, 1854.

DEAR GEORGE,—Again a fierce battle on the 5th! We know as yet only the loss in Generals, which is awful! and makes us tremble as to what names the death roll will contain. God be praised that you have escaped so well. Poor Cathcart[1] I regret immensely: he was a most distinguished man, of whom we could still expect the best services. Pray tell Sir George Browne of my warm sympathy in his loss of an arm, and enquire in my name how he is going on. I tremble for Edward, for Seymour, Gordon, James Murray, Charles FitzRoy, for the poor Guards seem again to have been in the thick of it. We send them 5 to 600 men reinforcements who will start on the 22nd in the *Royal Albert*. The affair of the 5th must have been one of the most brilliant feats of arms of which the English Army has to boast, and if the warmest wishes could bring you luck, it must be yours, and through those the whole Nation sends to Heaven for her brave fellows in the Crimea. I have had made 50 sealskin coats lined with fur, as a present to the Officers of my Regiment, which will go off to you with the next mail, and I beg of you to accept one of them for yourself and one for Major Macdonald: something warm will be greatly needed.

God be with you!

Your faithful cousin,

ALBERT.

[1] General Sir George Cathcart commanded the 4th Division, and was killed at the battle of Inkerman.

1854 Æt. 35 Also tell Bentinck, Torrens and Butler how much I feel for their wounds and how warmly I wish for their recovery.

Nov. 29th.

Dear George,—I must send you one line to express my rejoicing that you have come through the awful day of the 5th so happily and with so great reputation and honour, and to add that from my heart I envy you. A short absence from the scenes of horror of the Crimea will certainly have restored your nerves. To-morrow I shall see General Bentinck, who has arrived safely and will have much to tell us. On Sevastopol hangs the whole fate of European politics, therefore also the Russians lay such store upon it and you have to make so firm a stand. Upon Sevastopol depends Austria's decision, and on that, that of Germany. On Sevastopol depends the existence of the Emperor's independence, the honour of England and her prestige in the East, which tells upon India, Persia, etc. etc. . . . The siege therefore is worth the trouble! and you will take it, of that I do not for one moment doubt. The Winter will be worse for the Russians than for you, as they hardly know how to feed themselves. All that we can send you of reinforcements, clothing, huts, ovens, etc. etc. . . . shall reach you, and the spirit of the country is patriotic and courageous in the extreme. I wish very much that we might have a great Reserve depôt for your Army, at Malta—3,000 miles is too far from your Reserves—a letter and its answer require 6 weeks. Farewell, dear George, ever

Your faithful cousin,
Albert.

1855 *Diary, January* 1, 1855.—Thus commences another year. Alas! its commencement is anything but cheerful! . . . Letters from England to the 15th all strongly urging upon me to go back and not to come home. . . . At last decided under the advice of Lord Stratford, who has behaved most kindly to me, to go to Malta and wait there, at all events for a time, to let matters pass on a little, and see what might turn up. I am sure this is the wisest thing

From Constantinople to Malta

to be done. *2nd.*—Embarked at 4 on board the *Tamar*, Prince Napoleon walking part of the way down with me. A good many sick and wounded men on board. *6th.*—In sight of Malta at daybreak. After getting in, Admirals Dundas and Houston Stewart as well as the Governor, Sir William Reid, called on me. Landed at 12. Took up my quarters in a very nice Family Hotel. The *Tamar* proceeds to Marseilles for French troops. I have consequently landed my 2 horses and heavy baggage. *21st.*—At length my long wished for letters (from England) have arrived, and are so satisfactory that I have determined upon starting for England at once with the first boat that goes. 1855 ÆT. 35 Malta: Departure for England

On his way home His Royal Highness made a halt in Paris.

January 28.—At 3 went to pay a private visit to the Emperor, who received me most graciously, and with whom I had a long conversation of nearly two hours on all subjects connected with the Campaign. I then accompanied him to the Empress, who also received me most graciously.

Dover was reached on the 30th. 'I landed at once, and met with a most hearty reception from the inhabitants. It was truly gratifying. An address was presented to me to which I replied in a few words. Left for London at 2. Reached town at 6, and drove at once to St. James's, where I found my dearest Mother and Mary, and where I dined and then went to my dearest Aunt Gloucester. Early home, and thankful to God for having once again restored me to my dear family and friends.'

Diary, January 31.—The Queen, having come to London in consequence of the defeat of the Ministry[1] and their resignation, sent for me and received me most kindly and graciously, together with the Prince. I was some time with her, and lunched with her.

February 1.—I can think of nothing but the Crimea,

[1] The Aberdeen Coalition Ministry was defeated on Mr. Roebuck's motion for an inquiry into the condition of the Army in the Crimea and the conduct of the departments at home.

1855 Æt. 35 and the sufferings of our dear comrades there. The kindly feeling toward me is most gratifying and universal. The calls on me are most numerous, but as yet I have not seen a soul. *3rd.*—I am daily getting better and stronger, and the disagreeable symptoms of fever rapidly leaving me ; my nerves also getting stronger.

(*Letter to the Hon. W. Ashley*)

St. James's Palace, February 3.

I am deeply sensible of the great kindness I have received from all my friends, and amongst those I am happy to think you are one of the *very oldest.* I am a poor creature, but certainly much better for the journey, and for the society of my family and friends, so that I doubt not a very short time will set me all to rights again. . . .

Diary, February 10.—Started at 4 by train for Windsor, arriving at 5. It was the Queen's Wedding Day, and the children played a little German piece entitled 'Rothköpfchen.'[1] It was very nicely done, and went off very well. All most kind and considerate to me. *March* 3.—Went with the Queen and Albert at 9.30 by railroad to Chatham, to see the sick and wounded men returned from the Crimea. She went in State, and accompanied by Lord Hardinge. The number of men seen was about 500. They were enthusiastically delighted and really looked wonderfully well. The effect produced by this visit was excellent. *7th.*—At 4 attended Meeting of the Central Association for soldiers' wives and children. Took the Chair. The Meeting a large and influential one, and I most cordially received. Made, I think, a good speech. The Queen dined with me at 8. The party consisted of herself, Albert, Lady Canning, General Bouverie and Captain Du Plat, Mama, Kielmansegge, Clarendon, Granville, Hardinge, Tyrwhitt. It went off very well, was a very good dinner, and the Queen was much pleased. The Duchess of Kent and Mary, with their ladies, came in the evening. *11th.*—Had a long interview with Mr. Roebuck on the subject of my examination before the Committee to-morrow ; also with Panmure as regards

[1] 'Red Cap,' or 'Red Riding Hood.'

my return to the Army, which he does not consider necessary at all at present. 12*th*.—Busy in the morning preparing for my examination. Went at 12 to the House of Lords and gave evidence before the Committee. It was satisfactory, I believe, and was well thought of. I was two hours and a half under examination. 16*th*.—To the House of Lords, where I made my first short speech on the subject of the transport of Cavalry Horses. It went off well and was well received. 1855 ÆT. 35 Speech in the House of Lords

The Duke of Cambridge strongly condemned the conveyance of cavalry by sailing transports when steamers could be obtained, and he urged that an arrangement might be devised by which some of the vessels lying idle in Balaklava Harbour could be brought home and rendered available for the transport of horses from this country. 'I would strongly impress upon my noble friend the Minister of War,' he continued, 'the advantage which would be gained by establishing a service of steam transports, to be despatched regularly once a week, or once a fortnight, as the case might be, by each of which you would be able to send out 300 horses in the most simple and easy manner.'

Diary, March 31.—Accompanied the Queen to the Crystal Palace at Sydenham at 10 o'c. This will be a most beautiful place when finished, and is a vast and most interesting undertaking, reflecting great credit on those who devised it. The interior much advanced, but the gardens with waterfalls will be the finest portion, no doubt, when finished. View lovely. *April* 9.—At 6.15 went to the City to dine with the Lord Mayor. Tyrwhitt and Clifton accompanied me. My reception both in the streets going along and in the Hall was excellent and all passed off well, and my speech, I felt, was certainly a good one. We sat down about 300 to dinner—a very fine sight. Æt. 36 Honour from the City of London

In the course of his speech the Duke said that it afforded him great pleasure at any time to pay his respects to the Chief Magistrate of the City of London, but he felt especial

1855 Æt. 36 gratification in being able, under God's protection, to meet the distinguished company assembled in that hall. He must be allowed to say that the enthusiastic manner in which he had been greeted, not only in that assembly, but out of doors while on his way to the Mansion House, had been to him a matter of high gratification. Since he last had the honour of addressing the citizens of London he had witnessed many varied scenes—some of great excitement and glory, and others of a more painful and heart-rending description—but it was an ample reward to those who had been participators in such scenes to receive on their return the hearty welcome of the citizens of London and of the general population of the country. When he found himself placed in such a proud and honourable position, he asked himself how he could have attained it. For himself, he had done nothing more than his duty, but he felt that he had had the honour and satisfaction of being placed in command of troops who had nobly and gallantly served their country. A general placed in high command had, indeed, an easy task when he was supported as he (the Duke of Cambridge) had been by such officers and soldiers as were to be found in the First Division and in other Divisions of the British Army with which he had been connected. So long as that gallant, that intrepid, that indomitable courage existed in our Army, which, thank God, had been manifested from the highest to the lowest, the country might be assured that its honour would be safe. He must not omit to say that the British Army had been assisted by allies whose co-operation was a subject of the greatest pride. He saw near him a gallant Admiral [1] in the French service, who had been in command in the Mediterranean, and he felt great pleasure in assuring that gallant officer of the sense he entertained, in common with the officers of the British forces, of the exploits which had

[1] The Vicomte de Chabannes.

been performed by their brave allies, the French. The alliance which had been established between the two countries would, he hoped, be cemented by the anticipated visit of the illustrious Emperor of the French and his Consort, and he was sure he expressed the sentiments of the country when he said that the Emperor of the French would be received here with a cordiality which would not only be most gratifying to our distinguished visitor, but would also tend to cement the feelings of amity between the two nations. He begged to return thanks for the honour which had been done the Army, not only in his own name, but also on behalf of those brave and gallant men whom he had had the honour to command, and with whom he felt himself completely identified. 1855 ÆT. 36

Visit of the Emperor and Empress of the French

Diary, April 16.—Started by train for Windsor with Tyrwhitt to be ready to receive the Emperor and Empress of the French. Albert had gone down to meet them at Dover. I was ready in uniform in the State Apartments at 6, but, there having been much fog, the passage from Calais was long, and they did not arrive till past 7 o'c. The drive through London is said to have been magnificent, the reception by the public excellent. I was at the foot of the Staircase with the Queen, Royal Children, Leiningen and the whole Court in uniform. Nothing could have gone off better than the meeting. The Queen conducted them to the State Apartments on the North front, which had been remarkably well done up for the occasion. The dinner was in St. George's Hall. *17th.*—At 4 went on horseback to a Review in the Park of the 2nd Life Guards, Blues, Carabineers, and the Chestnut Troop Horse Artillery, the whole under Cardigan. It went off remarkably well. The troops looked well and did well. The Emperor rode his favourite and handsome horse, the Queen and Empress were in a carriage. The crowd was great. Dinner at 8, and there was a dance in the Waterloo Gallery. *18th.*—Soon after 3, investiture of the Garter took place, when the Emperor received the Order. He seemed really overcome,

1855 Æt. 36 for a moment, by the greatness of his position. The Empress looked very well on the occasion, and her manner is excellent, and she gets on admirably with the Queen and indeed with everybody. After it was over the Emperor took me to his private rooms and gave me the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour, accompanied by some most flattering expressions of approbation of my military service with the French Army. 19*th*.—Left Windsor by special train with the Royal Children at 10. Came up in the carriage with them. They are very nice and affectionate, and seem fond of me. At one, went in State to the Guildhall to meet the Emperor and Empress, who had meanwhile come up from Windsor by the S.-W.R. with the Queen and Prince. The crowds in the street enormous, but all in excellent order and spirits. I was myself much cheered. My horses very awkward and all but ran away near Temple Bar. My entry in the Guildhall most gratifying. The whole ceremony went off to perfection. The Hall admirably decorated and crowded, but all in the best order. The address of the City good—Emperor's reply admirable. The luncheon handsomely done and not too long. The return through the streets equally good, and to myself *most flattering*, for I was cheered the entire way. At 9 went to the opera. The streets crowded and illuminations beautiful. At 10, the Queen and Emperor arrived in State and the whole thing looked extremely handsome, the house being crowded with well-dressed people. . . . They only stayed an hour. 21*st*.—To the Palace at 9.30, and soon after 10 started with the Emperor, Empress and Albert for the Bricklayers' Arms Station, after having taken leave of the Queen and Children at the Palace. Crowds in the streets, who cheered very much. Went with them in the carriage to Dover, where we arrived soon after one, and at once proceeded to the Pier and accompanied them on board the *Empress* Steamer, when I took a hearty leave of them all. They seemed both of them delighted with their stay in England, as did their suite, and seemed really sorry to go. I think it is quite settled that he is to go shortly to the Crimea in the event of peace not being made, which

1855
ÆT. 36

is not probable. They sailed at once, heartily cheered all the time.

Distribution of Crimean medals

May 18.—A lovely morning for the distribution of the Crimean Medals. Went to the Parade at 9.45. The Queen came at 11. I commanded the Parade and was the first to receive the Medal. Everything went off to perfection. The weather was lovely, and it was a beautiful sight. To me it was indeed a proud moment, when I stepped forward to receive the Medal at the Queen's hands—I shall never forget it as long as I live. I was much cheered on my return home.

Offer of the Governorship of Gibraltar

June 8.—Panmure has, on the part of the Government, offered to me the Government of Gibraltar now vacant, which, however, I have thought it advisable for many reasons to decline, and have done so accordingly. 19*th*.—Accompanied the Queen and Albert to Enfield to see the Small Arms Factory. It was a great deal further than they had calculated upon, and having no change of horses, the animals got dreadfully knocked up and with difficulty got back, leaving two on the road. It was a very disagreeable adventure, and we did not get back till 8.30.

Throughout the year the diary is full of references to the Crimean War. Every danger to which our troops were exposed, every suffering which they were compelled to undergo, touched and awakened a responsive chord in the heart of the Duke of Cambridge, who sympathised with them in their trials and tribulations as only those who know can sympathise. '. . . All amusements,' he writes in a letter, 'are to me, I confess to you, a positive horror at this time, while I know that our poor beloved comrades are suffering so terribly. I infinitely prefer my own quiet little room, with one or two friends, with whom I can open my heart about it. All social life is to me dreadful at this moment.' The end of June was a period of deep anxiety. The telegraph was out of order, and while no positive news reached England of the operations the wildest rumours were abroad. When at last the ominous silence was broken,

1855 Æt. 36

Death of Lord Raglan

the news was of the worst. 'This was indeed a most sad and melancholy day to all of us,' writes His Royal Highness on June 30. 'I received a message from the Queen to say that they had just received a telegraphic message from the Crimea to the effect that poor dear Lord Raglan had suddenly become worse in the afternoon of the 28th, and had died that evening at 9.30 o'clock. This is a fearful catastrophe, a sad and most painful blow. It has filled all hearts with mourning and sorrow, and has affected me personally most deeply. His death at such a moment is an irreparable loss to the Country. All are plunged into the deepest grief and sorrow. I could not think of going anywhere, but dined quietly at the Travellers' and went early to bed.'

His Royal Highness was perfectly ready to go out to the front should the necessity arise, though he saw clearly that the mission would be unattended by honour or by glory. 'I am very unhappy that they do not send me back,' he says in a letter written from Scotland; 'I would so gladly go and feel if only I might be of some use! . . . I like this place very much, but I have no rest, for it is so distant from all news, the London Post takes two days, and that at the moment when one is daily expecting to hear of a great battle is terrible to me. Altogether it annoys me more and more every day to have nothing to do. . . . I shall, therefore, really be quite glad to be again in the neighbourhood of London, there again to make further attempts to obtain some employment. Above all what I should like best would be to return to the Army in the field, for that after all is my profession or vocation, and my whole heart clings so entirely to it.'

Diary, July 11.—Had letters from the Crimea, with detailed accounts of poor Lord Raglan's death and last moments. It seems to have been a most sudden event and to have taken all on the spot by surprise. 26*th*.—

Edward arrived, and I saw him for a long time. He is looking wonderfully well and is most happy to have got safely back, which does not surprise me. He told me a great deal about the Crimea and the prospects of the campaign. *October* 3.—Went to Horse Guards, where I saw all the authorities and heard a great deal of news of various sorts and kinds. Simpson [1] has certainly resigned, but his successor is not yet known. I wish they would send me. 5*th*.—Saw Lord Panmure, with whom I had a long conversation about myself and my anxiety to command the Army in the field. He seemed to fear there were great difficulties, but was very kind in all he said. 1855 ÆT. 36

October 9.—This was a great day at Liverpool, and a more successful or more enthusiastic day I never saw in all my experience. We arrived at the Town Hall at 11. The streets were crowded with people and were decorated with flags. The enthusiasm was unbounded from all classes. In short it can only be likened to an ovation, and to me it was more gratifying than any words can describe. An address was presented to me at the Town Hall, to which I replied. I then went on to the Exchange, thence in the carriage with the Mayor, Mr. Tobin, a most gentlemanlike man, Lord Derby, and Mr. Horsfall, the Member of the borough, we drove over the whole town, visiting the Schools first, then the Public Baths, the Derby Museum, the Blue Coat School, the Albert Docks, where we had lunch, the Observatory, the Sandham Docks, the new North Fort and the Industrial Schools. At 6.30 dined with the Mayor, and after that a great ball for upwards of 600 persons. Never was there such a successful day, such enthusiasm, and wherever I appeared I was received in the most marked manner, and, as said before, it was literally an *ovation*. We did not return to Knowsley till nearly 1 o'c., a good deal tired after 14 hours' work. *November* 5.—This is the anniversary of the Battle of Inkerman. What reflections and recollections does this great event bring with it, and how Visit to Liverpool

[1] General Simpson, who had been sent out as Chief of the Staff, succeeded Lord Raglan in the supreme command.

1855 Æt. 36 differently the day was spent this time last year! How grateful I feel to God for being alive and well.

A few days later the Duke left for Paris on a visit to the Emperor at his express invitation.

In Paris

Diary, November 14.—Arrived at Calais at 2 p.m. Arrived in Paris at 10.15 a.m. and drove to the Tuileries. Was met by the Emperor at the door, and met with a most cordial and hearty welcome. Dressed, and breakfasted with the Emperor and Empress, and then at 2 went to the Exhibition, which, though in great confusion preparing for the morrow, is certainly very fine. Saw as much of it as I could and was much struck by the English jewellery and by the Annex containing all the machinery. 15*th*.—Went at 12.30 in great State and in procession to the Palace of the Exhibition with the Emperor and Empress and the whole Court to close it. I myself went in the Emperor's carriage. Troops lined the streets on both sides. It was a magnificent sight, as was also the interior of the building, occupied as it was by about 20,000 persons. The Emperor made a very fine speech, which was admirably received. I cannot say as much for that of his cousin, which I did not like at all. After distributing the Medals and Orders we looked at the Prizes, which were all put up below, and then returned in the like order in which we went, being at home by 3.

Ceremonies and reviews followed, and on the 22nd the Duke of Cambridge 'started at 8.30 by railroad for Ferrières, a charming place of the Rothschilds, where the shooting is most excellent. He gave us a wonderful breakfast and then excellent shooting, chiefly pheasants. It was most agreeable. Had a long interview after my return with the Emperor, who communicated his views most freely to me on all subjects. Attended a large dinner and afterwards took leave of the Emperor and Empress, and started by special train, by invitation, for Boulogne, instead of for

Calais, at which latter place a boat was waiting for me with our friend Smithett.' 1855 Æt. 36

Here it is necessary to turn back and to review briefly the progress of the war. The operations against Sevastopol had been vigorously prosecuted by the allies; the desperate effort of the Russians of August 16 to raise the siege had failed completely and disastrously, and though the English had been unable to hold the Redan on that memorable September 5, the Russians had been so shaken and weakened that they had been glad to abandon the position, leaving to the allies, as the Russian commander said with truth, not Sevastopol, but the burning ruins of the town to which the Russians themselves had set fire. But if Sevastopol was lost, Russia was far from beaten. The giant, indeed, had been injured in an extremity; but the heart, the vitals, and the rest of the body remained intact. The military operations of the allies had failed, and failed completely, to end the war. Diplomacy, in the meantime, had not been idle. A conference had been held in Vienna in the summer, but the negotiations for a basis of settlement had broken down because Russia would not agree to the limitation of her supremacy in the Black Sea. Diplomacy too had failed. Yet for all this the fall of Sevastopol practically marked the end of the war, for the simple reason that forces higher and more powerful than arms or diplomacy were tending steadily towards a conclusion of hostilities. One of the protagonists in the tragedy had disappeared from the stage. The Emperor Nicholas of Russia, whose high ambition and rigid determination had been the head and fount of the war, had died in March, of a broken heart, men said, sick unto death with the despair that comes from shattered hopes and vanishing dreams; and though his successor, Alexander II., had perforce to carry on the policy which his father had initiated, it was felt that his heart was not in the work, and that he would

Towards peace

1855 Æt. 36 embrace the first occasion for an honourable peace. The Emperor of the French was tiring quickly of a war that brought little honour and threatened to cause domestic disaster. Finally, in England, the war fever was abating. The peace crusade of the Manchester School, if it did not meet with favour, was at any rate received with greater tolerance. When the people are tired of war, said Lord John Russell in a letter to Cobden, 'they will blame any Minister who does not make peace.' That was in November 1855, and if the people were not then tired of war they were tiring of the methods of war in the Crimea. They might remain as convinced as ever of the justice of their cause, but they were shocked and alarmed by the disclosures of the Sevastopol Inquiry Committee.

While the forces of peace were thus converging, the allies determined upon the holding of a great Council of War in Paris to discuss the future course of hostilities, and the Duke of Cambridge was chosen by the Government to attend it. 'Clarendon,' he writes on December 13, 'called and told me of the intention of sending me to Paris to attend the Council of War to be held there, and also the giving the Crimean medals to the Imperial Guards.'

One other extract from the diary of 1855 must be given :

December 31.—The last day of the year : an eventful one in many respects, and still it is one that has brought much that is good with it for our country. I think the end of a year is always to be more regretted than rejoiced at. It is as if an old friend were leaving one. . . . Good-bye, dear old Year, I am sorry you are come to an end !

1856 It was arranged that the Duke of Cambridge should leave London for Paris on January 9. Before his departure the Queen wrote him the following letter :

Windsor Castle, January 8.

Letter from the Queen As I have so very lately written to the Emperor, I wish you would say that I don't trouble him again, but beg you

to repeat all our affectionate good wishes both to him and to the Empress, as well as our earnest hope that this Council of War may lead to glorious results for our Arms. 1856 ÆT. 36

Should you have to make a speech on the occasion of the Medals, you should say something about the pleasure with which I confer them on *les braves camarades* of my gallant troops who had fought side by side.

I hope you will let me hear how matters go on and stand, and should you not have time to write to Lord Clarendon on the same day you write to me, I should always communicate yours to me to him. You will not forget my messages to Canrobert [1] and Bosquet.[2]

With our best wishes for a pleasant journey, &c., &c.

Upon His Royal Highness's arrival in Paris on the evening of the 9th, the Duke writes, 'The Emperor received me most graciously, and I am put up at the Tuileries. . . . Dined in my apartments quietly, and I then went to the embassy, where I had a lengthened interview with Cowley and Lyons.[3]' Arrival in Paris

Diary, January 10.—The Council [4] met this morning for the first time, under the presidency of the Emperor, at 9.30. The Emperor made an opening address. Two Sub-Committees were formed on the subject of the Baltic and Crimea to which certain questions were put to be thoroughly examined before the general discussion was to come on. We then adjourned to Saturday, but the Sub-Committees continued their deliberations the greater part of the day. 12*th*.—We had a long meeting of the Council from 2 till 5, when the various most interesting reports were read, and Meeting of the Council of War

[1] Marshal Canrobert. [2] General Bosquet. [3] Admiral Sir E. Lyons.

[4] The Council of War was composed of the following members: Prince Jerome Bonaparte, Prince Napoleon Bonaparte, the Duke of Cambridge, Lord Cowley, Count Walewski, Marshal Vaillant, General de la Marmora, Marshal Canrobert, Admiral Hamelin, Admiral Sir Edmund Lyons, Admiral the Hon. R. Dundas, Admiral Penaud, Admiral Jurien de la Gravière, General Bosquet, General Niel, General Martimprey, General Sir Richard Airey, General Sir H. Jones. General Niel acted as Secretary of the Council.

1856 Æt. 36 a long discussion took place on the most important points connected with them. . . . Went to the Opera on the occasion of the Emperor sending 800 men of the Crimean Army to the theatre.

In the midst of the warlike deliberations of the Council came a strong suggestion of peace, which the Duke hastened to communicate to the Home Government:

Tuileries, January 15.

My dear Clarendon,—Your letter of the 14th reached me this morning, and I would not trouble you with a reply were it not that I have much of interest to communicate. As regards the wish of the Queen and of the Government to have the two armies divided for the approaching campaign, nobody feels the necessity for such division more than myself and all my colleagues, but after speaking on the subject to Cowley, we are both of opinion that it would be impossible to press this matter in the Council, but that it must be impressed as an absolute necessity on the mind of the Emperor. This I have not failed to do on all occasions, so has, I believe, Cowley, and I shall continue to do so. As, however, no resolution will be come to by the Council, and as this is a matter which I think will have to be settled by the two Governments after our deliberations are closed, I cannot help thinking that if we produce the desired effect upon the mind of His Majesty and on that of his Minister of War, all that we can desire will have been attained. There may be further some difficulty as to how the division of the Forces is to be effected, if the entire or almost entire force of the allies should be required for the Crimean campaign in the first instance. This I have explained in my private letter of the 12th instant to Panmure which you will no doubt have seen. I will give the Queen's message to La Marmora about his coming to England.

I now approach a subject of great importance; last night the Emperor sent for me; he told me M. de Seebach had returned, and that the tenor of the message of which he

was the bearer from the Emperor of Russia had been made known to him. It was to this effect: That the Emperor of Russia sincerely desired peace, that he would be prepared probably to accept even the question of the Bessarabian Frontier at present refused by him, provided the question were submitted to him in another form, and that it was the form to which exception was taken more than the substance of what had been proposed to him. That the Emperor's feeling was strongly against Austria, and that an Austrian ultimatum was most galling to him. That being most anxious to make a peace which would be acceptable both to France and England, united, and not with a view to separate the two Governments, he proposed that plenipotentiaries should meet at Paris, each with full instructions from their respective Governments, that they should exchange their ideas, and that, if after having been twenty-four hours in the same locality it were evident that no agreement could be arrived at, they were at once to return to their respective Courts, and that the war would be continued. That, on the other hand, if at the expiration of the twenty-four hours it was evident that a peace could be arrived at, preliminaries for concluding it should at once be opened and agreed upon. The Emperor Napoleon then added that the idea appeared to him not a bad one, that he should see M. de Seebach to-day, and would thereupon communicate with the Government of the Queen upon the result of that interview, that he should object to Paris as a place of meeting, as it might appear as if he was disposed to influence the conference, which he did not, and that instead of it, he should probably name Brussels, and added that he wished the British Government to have the conviction that nothing had been stated or proposed to him which he had not communicated to them, that he had no reserve in the matter, but wished to act openly and fairly, and hoped this would be felt and appreciated in England; and he assured me again and again that he was determined to hold by the alliance, that nothing would shake him in this respect, and that his only object was to attain a peace after due consultation between the two Governments, such peace to be alike

1856 ÆT. 36

1856 Æt. 36

honourable to both the allied countries. This is exactly what passed, and I am certain that the Emperor is most sincere in what he says. I have not seen the Emperor again since M. de Seebach has been with him, so I can add no more at present. It is right, however, that you should meanwhile know what passed between us.

Presentation of the Crimean medals

Diary, January 15.—This was the day fixed for giving the Crimean medals. All the morning busy writing my speech and preparing for the great ceremony. At one it took place in the Court of the Tuileries, the troops occupying that Court and the Place du Carrousel. About 15,000 men were present, chiefly Guards and the four regiments of the Line just returned from the East. After going down the line I made my speech to them, which was well taken and appeared to give satisfaction. Then I handed the medals to the Generals, superior Officers and a portion of all ranks, and then the troops defiled with much enthusiasm. . . . By 3 it was all concluded.

The Duke's speech was as follows :

Her Majesty the Queen of England has deigned to charge me with the office of presenting to the Generals, Officers, and rank and file of the French Army, my brave and worthy comrades, these medals, as a token of the cordial esteem and friendship which exist between the two nations, and of the admiration which Her Majesty and the English nation have felt in seeing the glorious feats of arms performed by the Army of the East. It was in the great combats of the Alma, Inkerman, and Sevastopol that the alliance of the two nations was ratified by the two armies. God grant that this great alliance may always continue, for the advantage and glory of both nations! As for myself, my dear comrades, the honour which has been conferred on me is the greater that I have served with you, and have seen with my own eyes your bravery, your great military qualities, and the devotedness with which you have supported so many fatigues and so many dangers. I sincerely thank the Emperor for his kindness

in allowing me to have the honour of distributing these medals in his presence. 1856 Æt. 36

The enthusiasm displayed at the presentation of medals made a deep impression on the Duke, who referred to it in a letter to Lord Panmure. 'I have just returned,' he wrote on the 15th, 'from distributing the medals. Nothing could have gone off better, and the greatest enthusiasm pervaded the troops. It is thought here that this ceremony will produce a very favourable effect in France, and be advantageous to the Alliance.' Again, writing to his Mother on the following day, he said:

One line to say that I am well, thank God, and that so far everything has gone off very well, but that I have been so busy that it has been impossible for me to write to you before, and even to-day I have but a few minutes for doing so. The fact is that, what with Councils of War, seeing people, writing dispatches, and being with the Emperor, I have not one moment to myself, and I shall not be sorry when I find myself established again at home. I can enter into no particulars; these you will hear when we meet, but I can only say I am extremely satisfied with the Emperor, who is all kindness and friendship. . . . The distribution of the medals yesterday went off to perfection, the enthusiasm great, the troops looked very well, about 15,000 men, all in the court of the Palace and on the Place du Carrousel. My address to the Army you will read in the papers and I hope approve. We had a handsome Ball last night at the Cowleys', the Emperor and Empress there. . . . It is still thought that Peace is possible. Austria is going on very well, and I only hope that we shall not make too many difficulties. . . . The feeling of the Country here is most decidedly for Peace. This should be known and felt in England. . . .

Peace in sight

The efforts of Austria to bring about peace were indeed beginning to bear fruit, and rumours of a settlement

1856 Æt. 36

were in the air. They were quickly to assume a tangible shape.

Diary, January 17.—We met in Council again at 9.30. The opinions of the various Members forming the Council were read, and our formal meetings therefore closed. Great news has just arrived. Russia *accepts* the Austrian ultimatum, and Peace may be said therefore to be at hand. It has caused immense excitement here, but still some difficulties present themselves. May they be got over. Had long interview with the Emperor on the altered state of things. . . . At 4 went with Cowley to the Emperor, and together with him and Walewski [1] had a conference till 6 o'clock, which convinced me that matters are still in a very ticklish state, but still I trust all difficulties will be got over. 20*th*.—After dinner at the Tuileries, when all the Military Members of the Council of War dined, had a Meeting at which the Emperor gave us his views on the Campaign—in the event of the continuation of the War. It was a very satisfactory one.

Return to England

The Duke returned to London on the 22nd, and travelled to Windsor, where he paid a short visit to the Queen.

Diary, February 21.—Dressed early to go to the House of Lords to hear Lord Derby put a question to Panmure with reference to the duties of the Horse Guards and Secretary for War. The reply was highly satisfactory, and the Government are pledged to maintain the Commander-in-Chief as he at presents exists. This is a great point gained. 22*nd*.—At 5 to the House of Lords for debate on the Wensleydale Peerage. Government were beat by 35 on this question, Lord Lyndhurst carrying his motion, declaring the Peerage for life to be illegal. I cordially agree with Lord Lyndhurst, but did not vote, as it was a case affecting the Queen's Prerogative.[2] 29*th*.—The Queen dined with

[1] French Ambassador at the Court of St. James's.

[2] The Government proposed to confer a peerage for life on Sir James Parke, one of the judges. The proposal met with bitter opposition, and, in the House of Lords, Lord Lyndhurst urged that it was the

H.M. KING WILLIAM IV. AS DUKE OF CLARENCE.

(From a Painting by Hoppner at Windsor Castle.)

me this evening, and besides herself and Albert, Lady Clementina Bouverie and Du Plat, there were Mama, Mary, Panmure, Persigny, Van de Weyer, Lyons, Scarlett and Jim. Granville was to have come, but was taken ill with the gout at the last moment, and Mary kindly replaced him at short notice. The dinner passed off satisfactorily and well, with the exception of the upsetting of a dish of fish sauce over the Queen, which, however, did not hurt her dress. The Princess Royal and her Lady in Waiting came in the evening. *March* 19.—Left for Windsor. A large party there for Princess Royal's Confirmation. The King of the Belgians has come over expressly for the occasion. 20*th*.—The Ceremony of Confirmation took place to-day. The Archbishop of Canterbury [1] made an address which lasted nearly three-quarters of an hour, and of which I could not hear a single word. The Princess behaved remarkably well and was very dignified and composed.

1856 ÆT. 36

Confirmation of the Princess Royal

The Congress of Paris had opened on February 26, and on March 30 the Treaty of Peace was signed.

ÆT. 37

Diary, March 30.—Heard that Peace had been signed this day at Paris at 2 o'clock. No particulars known. . . . At 10 p.m. the guns in the Park were fired on the announcement of the Peace—51 guns. It had a curious effect upon one's feelings. The war has just lasted two years and two days, it having been proclaimed March 27, 1854. I cannot regret the Peace, which is said to be a good one, though perhaps for England, well prepared as she is, another year of war might have been an advantage, but after all this is problematical, and so it is as well as it is. I only hope the Peace may be a good one.

Treaty of Peace signed

It is safe to say that the Duke's feelings were shared at the time by the great majority of Englishmen. The

beginning of an attempt to introduce a system of life-peerages which would destroy the character of the assembly. The Government solved the difficulty by creating Sir James Parke Baron Wensleydale in the ordinary way.

[1] Dr. John Bird Sumner.

1856 ÆT. 37

failure of the attack on the Redan was a blot on our military escutcheon which the Army and the nation were alike eager to erase. Nor was this all. The opening of the conflict had found us with the sinews of war dangerously enfeebled and relaxed; its continuance had seen a steady improvement in military organisation and effectiveness. The frank and fearless criticism of the Press, which withheld nothing and spared no one, did not fall on deaf ears, and so it came about that, when the curtain was rung down in the spring of 1856, the Army in the field, as the saying runs, had found itself, and order had taken the place of chaos in the departments at home. England was better prepared to wage successful war than she had been at any period during the two previous years. At the same time, if she had insisted upon prosecuting the struggle, it is certain that she would have been compelled to plough a lonely furrow, for her comrades in arms were tired of the war and determined to withdraw from the conflict. And in truth there was no valid reason why Great Britain should constitute herself the sole arbiter of the destinies of the European Continent or the unaided champion of any cause, however righteous. No other course was open to her except to make peace, and to see that that peace was as good as possible in the circumstances.

It only remains to give a few extracts from the diary which deal with the conclusion of hostilities:

April 23.—Accompanied the Queen and Prince, with five of the children, to the great Naval Review at Portsmouth. Reached Gosport at 11.30. Embarked at once on board the *Victoria and Albert*. She is a most beautiful vessel and far superior to the former one of the same name. The Queen was attended by Sir Charles Wood and the other Members of the Board of Admiralty, also by Sir Edward Lyons, the French Admiral Gurier, and many others. . . . Passed through the fleet, which was

lying at anchor in two lines. The gunboats then passed in succession, after which we lunched, and then the fleet weighed and passed around the two first ships near the Nab Light. On returning the gunboat flotilla made a supposed attack on Southsea Castle. It was very interesting and a fine sight. We got back to Gosport at 5.30 and London at 8.30. *28th.*—To House of Lords, where Clarendon laid on the table of the House the Treaty of Peace signed at Paris, duly ratified. I think the treaty is as favourable a one as we had any right to expect. Clarendon has done his work ably and well. 1856 ÆT. 37

May 8.—To House of Lords, when thanks were moved by Panmure to the Army, Navy and Militia for their conduct during the recent contests. It was seconded by Lord Derby, and I then made some few observations, which were extremely well received. *29th.*— . . . At 9 went to Buckingham Palace to see the fireworks on the Proclamation of Peace, which lasted till past 11. The crowds were dense in the Parks and Streets, but the people were in excellent order, and the greatest good humour prevailed and no accidents occurred. The fireworks were good as regards rockets, but the rest were poor and not worthy of the occasion.

CHAPTER VIII

COMMAND OF THE ARMY—INDIAN MUTINY

1856–1859

Death of Lord Adolphus FitzClarence—Wellington College—Illness and resignation of Lord Hardinge—Entry of the Guards into London—The Duke succeeds Lord Hardinge—Satisfaction of the Duchess of Gloucester—Privy Councillor—The Queen's appreciation of Lord Hardinge—Moustaches in the army—The Chinese war—Mr. Cobden's motion—Lord Palmerston appeals to the country—Death and funeral of the Duchess of Gloucester—Visit to Birmingham—The Indian Mutiny—Visit of the Emperor Napoleon and the Empress Eugénie—In Paris—The Queen and Indian atrocities—The Duke receives the freedom of the City—'May God grant that Lucknow may still be able to hold out!'—Relief—Marriage of the Princess Royal—Confirmation of the Prince of Wales—Lord Canning's proclamation—Royal visit to Cherbourg—The Prince of Wales's birthday

1856 Æt. 37

IN the last chapter were chronicled the conclusion of peace and the festivities which were held in honour of the end of the war. Amid the general rejoicing, death brought the Duke of Cambridge a private sorrow, for on the 18th of May the melancholy intelligence reached His Royal Highness that Lord Adolphus FitzClarence had died at Newburgh[1] on the previous night. 'No words can describe the grief I feel at this most sad event—I lose with him my oldest and dearest friend: God's will be done!' The funeral took place at Newburgh on the following Friday, and was attended by the Duke. 'After the funeral I returned to the house, and I confess my heart was very full at bidding a last adieu to my poor dear friend. May his soul rest in

Death of Lord Adolphus Fitz-Clarence

[1] Newburgh Park, Yorkshire, the property of Sir George Wombwell, Bart.

1856
ÆT. 37

peace. I am confident he would himself have wished to have been buried where he is placed in the Grave.'

Diary, May 22.—Went with Prince Edward to Palmer's trial. It was the medical case for the defence and was interesting, though at times rather heavy. I do not think they made a very strong case in Palmer's favour. Palmer [1] is an uninteresting person ; he appeared very calm and composed, and did not look as if he much felt his position. *June* 2.—Started off with Knollys and my Staff on horseback for Wellington College. The weather delightful and no dust. The Queen arrived at 1 o'c., by which time everything was ready. The Ceremony [2] took place at once and went off well ; Lord Derby reading an excellent address, which was well replied to by the Queen. The Archbishop [3] said a prayer, and the stone was then laid amidst the cheers of the public. The Queen then lunched, and immediately after that the marching past commenced, and then a few movements were made under my orders. Considering the smallness and badness of the Ground, the troops did admirably well, and looked remarkably well, no regiment better than the German Rifles. It was all over by 5, when the troops had a long and fatiguing march home. 15*th*.—To the Chapel Royal, where Dr. Hook of Leeds preached a most excellent sermon on the mode of keeping the Sabbath, in which respect he took a most liberal view. *July* 5.—Went to Aldershot to welcome home my Regiment. Was delighted with their general appearance. Rode about the Camp, where there was a good deal of confusion from the various Regiments coming in and going out. The 79th Highlanders marched in as I arrived, looking wonderfully well. The Guards Brigade were out for my inspection, and magnificent they looked —3,000 men on parade, every man a soldier in feeling and in bearing. It was a most glorious sight, and did one's heart good. Had some luncheon with the Grenadier Guards, and

[1] The Rugeley poisoner.
[2] The ceremony of laying the first stone of the college.
[3] Dr. John Bird Sumner.

1856 Æt. 37 after inspecting the three Battalions and their marching past, rode to North Camp to see the Cavalry. The 4th Dragoon Guards under Hodge, whom I saw, had just arrived, *7th.*—Went down to Aldershot with my Mother, Mary, Edward, the young Prince of Hesse,[1] etc., to attend the Review of troops returned from the Crimea. The whole morning I had been busy driving about. On arrival it came on to rain and continued to do so the whole afternoon. I therefore showed Mama and Mary the Camp, and we went to all the old Regiments of my Division. All looked admirably well and received me with the very greatest cordiality and good feeling. Finding there was no review, the Duchess returned to London and I remained with Panmure at his hut at the Camp. In the course of the afternoon, Lord Hardinge,[2] while conversing with the Queen and Albert, was seized with a paralytic attack. The Queen thought it was a slip and fall, and was not in the least aware of what had occurred. Lord Hardinge's head remained perfectly clear all the time. They were unable to remove him to London, and he remained at his hut next to ours. I dined with the Queen, meeting all the Commanding Officers of Regiments. I saw poor Lord Hardinge for a moment. He spoke clear and collected. Locock[3] was present, he having been sent for. *8th.*—Poor Lord Hardinge was moved to London at 8 o'c. I saw him before he started. His head was clear and collected, but his right side is helpless. At 11 the troops were out in spite of the most desperate weather. Besides the Brigade of Guards, we had the 1st Royals, 1st Battalion 7th, 19th, 79th, 1st Battalion Rifles, 4th Dragoon Guards, of Crimean Regiments, and the rest of the Garrison to look on. It was a noble sight, in spite of the weather. The Queen made a beautiful address to the Troops after they had marched past in splendid style. Nothing could be more beautiful than the manner in which all went off. Returned to London with the Queen in her special train.

Sudden illness of Lord Hardinge

[1] The Landgrave of Hesse, and nephew to the Duchess of Cambridge.
[2] Field-Marshal Henry 1st Viscount Hardinge.
[3] Sir Charles Locock, 1st Baronet, the celebrated physician.

1856
ÆT. 37

This was the anniversary of my late poor dear Father's death. How many things have happened since that sad event. *9th.*—This was the day fixed for the entry of the Guards into London. At 11 the Guards under Rokeby [1] and Crawford left the Station. The streets were crowded. The enthusiasm immense, and everything went off most satisfactorily. In Hyde Park the four other Battalions of the Guards were drawn up to receive their comrades. On their arrival I took the command and everything went off admirably, and the enthusiasm was unbounded. The troops looked to perfection. I was greatly cheered on my return home. Poor Lord Hardinge is going on favourably, but he has resigned, and it is said I am likely to succeed.

Resignation of Lord Hardinge

And succession of the Duke of Cambridge

After the resignation of Lord Hardinge, the Cabinet met and decided to recommend the Duke of Cambridge to the Queen as his successor. His Royal Highness was quickly informed of this decision, and immediately wrote to his mother to announce the joyful news :

July 13.—Although nothing is yet known, yet I think I can tell you that it is decided and that I am Commander-in-Chief. I have received the following letter from Lord Panmure. 'I have much satisfaction in informing your Royal Highness that the Cabinet has cordially concurred in recommending you to the Queen as Lord Hardinge's successor. This is a step to which I rejoice in having been a party, and I have no doubt that it will be beneficial to the Queen, the Country and the Army to have your Royal Highness at the head of the latter.' It is a very great undertaking : may God grant it will be successful.

A few hours later on the same day the Duke was able to write to his mother :

So it is all settled and I am Commander-in-Chief. I heard from Lord Palmerston, and the Queen sent for me to come to her this evening and announced it to me in the presence of Albert. She was very much moved, and I saw

[1] General Lord Rokeby, G.C.B. (6th Baron).

1856 Æt. 37 it touched her very nearly, but she was exceedingly gracious and friendly and kind to me, and we had a very nice conversation together, with which I was very well satisfied. It is a tremendous undertaking, but yet I am quite of good courage, for all are for me.

His Royal Highness was indeed deeply sensible of the great responsibilities of the high position to which he had been called, and firmly determined that so far as in him lay nothing should be wanting in their discharge. If further evidence of his feelings be needed, it may be found in the closing words of the entry made in his diary at the end of this eventful day: 'Thus I am placed in the proudest military position that any subject could be placed in. It is an onerous one, but I will do my best to do myself credit.'

It is not necessary to enlarge on the satisfaction felt by the members of his family. By none was it felt more keenly than by his aunt the Duchess of Gloucester, who for years had cherished the hope of seeing him at the head of the Army. Some years before she had written on his birthday to the Duchess of Cambridge:

My dearest Sister,—I cannot let so many hours pass of this dear day without wishing you joy before we meet, and I thank God I have been allowed to live to receive you all once more again on dear George's birthday at Gloucester House. I trust you may have many happy returns of the day and enjoy many with him, and may he ever be as beloved and liked and as popular as he is now, and may you have the comfort and consolation of seeing him placed in the course of time at the head of the Army, which all those who love him most wish to see him promoted to. As we shall meet by and by I will add no more than just to say I have had a most kind word from Leopold,[1] who was full of the praises of George, and how much he liked him and how

[1] The King of the Belgians.

he admired his speech at the City dinner yesterday, and said it had been highly commended and approved of at Windsor by Victoria and Albert. 1856 ÆT. 37

Yours affectionately,
MARY.

Now when her hopes were fulfilled, she wrote to his mother:

July 14.—You may judge by your own feelings what mine are at our dear George's distinguished appointment. . . . He is so looked up to and beloved by the troops, and the Queen is so fully sensible of all his merits, that the moment she could make him Commander-in-Chief she has done so. Dear sister, as you doubted when we parted that I should see you to-day, I write this note to wish you joy of this great and joyful event, which I know you have been so long looking forward to with so much anxiety, and it must make you feel very proud to be the mother of a son who has made himself so popular and beloved by all classes, and that the confidence of the Queen has so clearly shown itself as to have given him this responsible situation. From my heart do I wish you joy, and dear Mary also. George wrote me a kind little note last night to inform me of this event and of the Queen's great kindness to him when she saw him on the subject. I could not fly to Kew at 11 o'clock last night, or I would have done so, and having no notice of when you might come to town to-day I put off writing, hoping you might call in passing Gloucester House. . . . I wrote of course to the Queen the first thing this morning to express my joy and happiness, and I have had a letter from her full of affection and feeling for him. God bless you.

Yours affectionately,
MARY.

Diary, July 14.—To Woolwich, where the Queen received the whole of the Artillery returned from Crimea. 16*th*.—Went to Aldershot in the Queen's train, where the whole of the troops at Aldershot were received by the Queen, several

1856 Æt. 37

Regiments having just arrived, looking remarkably well. After seeing the last Crimean arrivals, there was a little field day of the other troops, ending with a general march past. I was there for the first time as Commander-in Chief.

First appearance as Commander-in-Chief

After the Review the Queen sent the Duke of Cambridge the following letter :

Osborne, July 19.—We had a charming field day on Thursday, which I enjoyed more than any I ever saw, and was on horseback for 4 hours amongst all the Troops : the day was beautiful and the Troops manœuvred admirably.

We saw the 18th Royal Irish arrive in camp yesterday morning in excellent order. Altogether we spent a most agreeable time at Aldershot. The Affray with the German Legion [1] was and is much exaggerated, but still very vexatious.

Diary, July 28.—Went down with the Members of the Government to Osborne to attend a Council, when I was admitted as a Privy Councillor, and took my seat accordingly.

Made a Privy Councillor

Throughout August the health of the Duchess of Gloucester gave ground for considerable anxiety and the Duke's diary shows that he felt this anxiety keenly, and that hardly a day passed without a journey down to Richmond to make eager inquiries for more reassuring news.

[1] Several collisions occurred between the 1st Regiment of Jägers and the English Rifles and Highlanders, and undoubtedly a number of heads were broken. The authorities at Aldershot were unwilling at first to afford any information concerning the disturbances, and the wildest rumours were current. On the day before the Queen wrote to the Duke of Cambridge, Sir J. Fergusson had called attention in the House of Commons to the rumours, and had asked whether the affray had been attended with loss of life, and Mr. Peel, the Under-Secretary for War, had replied that he 'had no intelligence of such an affray.' The matter, however, was sufficiently serious for General Knollys to lay the facts before the Duke of Cambridge, and His Royal Highness at once gave instructions for the immediate removal of 2,000 Germans to another camp.

1856
ÆT. 37

Diary, September 17.—My sister Mary has refused the offer made to her by the King of Sardinia, and I think she is quite right. 21*st.*—Accompanied by Airey [1] and Chapman [2] went over the Royal Asylum at Chelsea to look at it for a Barrack, for which it is certainly most admirably adapted with some additions and alterations. The intention is that the children should be sent to Kneller Hall.

Death of Lord Hardinge

After the death of Lord Hardinge on September 24 the Queen wrote to the Duke of Cambridge :

Balmoral, September 27.—I was just writing to you to desire you to issue a General Order to the Army expressive of my deep concern at the death of poor dear Lord Hardinge and my high and grateful sense of his invaluable services to myself and the country, when I received yours. I would wish you to have this done without delay.

You are right in supposing how very, very much shocked and grieved we are at the loss of one whom we regarded as a true and valued friend and whose loss is one of those which cannot be replaced in these days, for how few possess now his experience ! Lord Hardinge's loss is a very serious one, for a more loyal, fearless and devoted public servant this country and the Sovereign never possessed ! It came so very suddenly, for he was recovering wonderfully. Most truly regretted will he be by all who knew him, for he was a most amiable kind-hearted man.

(*From the Queen*)

Balmoral Castle, October 6.

. . . Albert has had no sport during this weather, but his bad luck was made up for by his killing a splendid stag last Thursday, which weighed 20 *stone* (clean), a *very* rare thing in any forest, and *unknown* in this neighbourhood. I am not a little proud of it, I assure you, both for my dear husband's *sporting renown*, and for the *honour* of *our* forest !

[1] General Sir Richard Airey, Chief of the Staff to Lord Raglan in the Crimea, and Adjutant-General to the Duke of Cambridge when Commander-in-Chief.

[2] An officer of the R.E. in the Crimea. A battery was named after him.

1856 Æt. 37 I am delighted to see by the letters I have received from your Mother and Augusta that you gave them so favourable a report of our dear Highland Home, which after all you did not see under favourable circumstances.

Diary, November 14.—This is the second anniversary of our fearful storm in the Mediterranean. How many recollections it revives in one's heart and thoughts, and how grateful one feels to God for our wonderful deliverance. *December* 31.—The last day of the year—a year that has been to me a most eventful one, and of which I have indeed no reason to complain! Dined at Kew, where we sat up till just 12 to see the New Year in!

1857 *January* 1, 1857.—Began the year quietly and cheerfully at Kew with my Mother and Mary. We thought of all those most near and dear to us, who were absent, and wished them every happiness, joy and comfort that this world offers. A lovely day, and the year begins brightly. God grant it may so turn out, and that at the end of it I may be myself a wiser and a better man.

(*From the Queen*)

Windsor Castle, February 6.

In the midst of so much that is so important, I forgot a trifle, but still which I think ought not to be any longer overlooked. It is the *moustaches*, as regards the *men* and *officers serving* (I don't mean any of the old Generals, etc., etc.) should no longer be *optional*, but ordered to be worn. The effect in the Ranks altogether is bad, when you see some with and some without them. I think this should *now* be done without delay. . . .

The Chinese war

In the Autumn of 1856 events had happened in China which were destined strangely to affect the political world at home. The lorcha *Arrow* while sailing in the Canton river was boarded by Chinese who seized some twelve of her crew on a charge of piracy. The owners of the *Arrow* declared that she was a British vessel and appealed to the British Consul at Canton for redress. On the other

hand, the Chinese Governor Yeh contended that the *Arrow* was not a British but a Chinese vessel, which had wrongly obtained possession of a British flag. There can be little doubt that the Chinese contention was perfectly right, but our Consul refused to listen to the Chinese representations, demanded the immediate restoration of the men who had been seized, and enlisted the support of Sir John Bowring, our Plenipotentiary at Hong Kong. Sir John was not slow to act. In addition to the surrender of the captives he called for an apology from the Chinese and a promise of good behaviour in the future, adding that if these conditions were not fulfilled warlike operations would be begun in forty-eight hours. Yeh surrendered the men and gave promises for the future, but professed himself unable to make any apology since he still maintained that the *Arrow* was not a British vessel. Thereupon Sir John Bowring, faithful to his threat, ordered the bombardment of Canton. The Government at home supported this action on the part of its representative ; but among a large section of the political world the news aroused feelings of deep regret and resentment, and memorable debates took place in both Houses of Parliament. In the Lords a motion, introduced by Lord Derby, condemning the action of the British authorities in China, was lost by a majority of 146 to 110, but a resolution on similar lines, moved in the House of Commons by Mr. Cobden, met with a different fate. The debate lasted four nights, and Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Disraeli, Lord John Russell, and Lord Robert Cecil (afterwards Lord Salisbury) ranged themselves on the side of Mr. Cobden. The Duke of Cambridge listened to the debate, and his views on the subject may be inferred from the following entry in his diary :

1857
ÆT. 37

March 3.— . . . At 11 back to the House of Commons where I heard Gladstone, Palmerston, Disraeli and Cobden in reply. It was very interesting. They all spoke well with

1857 Æt. 37 the exception of Palmerston, who I think was very feeble in argument and too personal to Cobden.

Mr. Cobden's motion was carried by a majority of sixteen. Defeated at Westminster, Lord Palmerston appealed to the country, and the Government was triumphantly returned to power. As military operations were to be carried on, the Duke of Cambridge, as a loyal servant of the Crown, was ready to see that they were prosecuted as efficiently as possible.

Diary, March 6.—It has been decided to send out a force to China direct from home, the four Regiments of Infantry going to India, four Companies of Artillery, and one of Engineers. Sir Colin Campbell[1] is to be offered the Command, with two Brigades under him. It is a wise and prudent measure. *7th.*—Sir Colin has declined the command, which I much regret, though it does not surprise me much. Panmure has been to tell me that the Cabinet has decided upon sending Pennefather[2] to China, a very good man, no doubt, but I am afraid of his health. *10th.*—It has been decided to send troops at once to China and we are now busily engaged fitting out the expedition. It gives a great deal of trouble. All day engaged on these matters. *24th.*—Left London for Althorp for the Northampton races. There is a large party at Althorp consisting, besides the family, of the Bedfords, Wiltons and Lady Catherine, Corks, Enfields, Cavendish Boyles, Charles Greville, Coopers, De Mauley, George Fitzwilliam and Jim. The house is an old-fashioned, but very fine one, and there is a wonderful collection of pictures and books. *26th.*—My 38th birthday. This is rather a serious consideration, and one that gives cause for much reflection. *April* 3.—Drove to Jones the Sculptor to give him a sitting for my bust, a present by Lord Yarborough to the 2nd Life Guards.

Æt. 38

[1] Afterwards Lord Clyde.

[2] Sir John Pennefather commanded a brigade of the 2nd Division at Alma, and subsequently a division. Was commander of the troops in Malta after the war.

For some time the health of the Duchess of Gloucester had given cause for grave alarm, and in the last days of April it was seen that the end was near. 1857 ÆT. 38

Death of Duchess of Gloucester

April 30.—After sitting up during the whole night, at 2 o'c. the end of our dearest Aunt was evidently approaching. Mama and the Sisters, with her immediate household, had also remained. Towards 3 all were in the room and Hawkins and Hills [1] watching attentively said that it would not last many minutes. Still the struggle, without being apparently painful, was a long one, and at 5.15 after a deep sigh our beloved Aunt breathed her last without pain or suffering. It was an awful and most distressing moment. All behaved nobly, and none more so than poor Mrs. Gould,[2] who held her head to the last. Besides myself there were present Mama, Augusta, Mary, the two Liddells,[3] Lady Caroline Murray,[4] Miss Adams,[5] Nepean,[6] and the two Medical men, Hawkins and Hills. We had a short prayer before death and another after it. Nothing could surpass the solemnity of the moment. . . . Dined alone at my home, and felt most wretched, for I have lost the best friend I possessed on earth. *May* 1.—We went and took a last look at that dear face we loved so well. It was as beautiful in death as it had been in life.

The Duke of Cambridge felt the blow acutely. In the course of a letter written just after the death of the Duchess he says: 'My dearest Aunt left a letter which I have, in which she expresses the wish to be buried at Windsor

[1] Her Royal Highness's medical attendants.

[2] Dresser to the Duchess of Gloucester.

[3] Colonel the Hon. George Augustus Frederick Liddell, born 1812, died 1888 (sixth son of Sir Thomas Henry Liddell, 1st Lord Ravensworth), Comptroller of the Household of the Duchess of Gloucester, and afterwards Deputy-Ranger of Windsor Park. His wife was Cecil Elizabeth Jane, fourth daughter of the Rev. and Hon. Gerald Valerian Wellesley, D.D., Canon of Durham.

[4] Daughter of the 2nd Earl of Mansfield.

[5] A relative of the Duchess of Gloucester's nurse, who paid yearly visits to Her Royal Highness.

[6] Canon E. Nepean, M.A., chaplain to the Duchess of Gloucester.

1857 Æt. 38 as privately as is compatible with her rank, and without State. . . . I am very deeply moved, one feels it always more after a time.'

Diary, May 2.—Saw the Queen and Prince, and arranged about the carriages going in State with six horses to Windsor, to accompany the body from Slough to St. George's Chapel. *7th.*—At five to Gloucester House, when the body was carried downstairs and deposited in the large Dining Room. It was all quietly and nicely done. At ten the body was placed in the outer coffin. It lasted nearly an hour and was most affecting. The household alone besides myself present. *8th.*—This painful day had the advantage at all events of fine weather. At 8.15 I went with Tyrwhitt[1] to Gloucester House. Every thing was ready, and at nine punctually the procession started for Paddington Station. It was a most dreadful moment to see the body of the beloved one carried lifelessly out of the house she had been mistress of and loved so well. . . . Returned home to the Palace to breakfast, and at 10.15 drove with Macdonald to the Queen's Private Station of the S.W.R. Thence by special train with the Prince of Wales to Windsor. Mama and my sisters joined us at Richmond. We were at Windsor at 11.30. Prince Albert had already arrived. At 12 the mournful procession began to arrive from Slough. All was admirably conducted. The funeral ceremony then commenced and was beautifully performed by the Dean[2] reading, and the Choir singing. Nothing could be more beautifully impressive, and not a dry eye was to be found in the Church. As to myself, no words can describe all I felt on the occasion. I was conducting to its last resting place that being whom I most respected and venerated on earth. May God have mercy on her soul, and may I have the happiness of joining that blessed soul in Eternity, however miserably unworthy I am. *9th.*—At 12

Funeral

[1] General Charles Tyrwhitt, Equerry to the Duke of Cambridge, and Deputy-Ranger of Hyde Park.

[2] The Very Rev. the Hon. Gerald Wellesley, M.A., Dean of Windsor, third son of the 1st Earl Cowley. Born 1809; died 1882.

went to Gloucester House, where I met the four other Executors—Lord Verulam, Colonel Liddell, Mr. Vincent and Mr. Mortimer Drummond—in order to hear the Will read by Mr. Clarke the Solicitor. It is a beautiful Will, not anybody is forgotten, and her kindly feelings of charity expressed throughout all quite beautifully. There are things left to everybody: annuities to the servants, the plate to Mary and a good many jewels—and all that is not willed away to myself as her absolute heir. How beautiful she has ever behaved to me, really in a manner for which I can never feel or prove myself sufficiently grateful. 1857 ÆT. 38

June 1.—Reached Birmingham at 12. Dressed in Uniform, and proceeded in the Mayor's (Mr. Radcliffe) carriage, and accompanied him to the Town Hall. The streets crowded to excess and the reception quite magnificent and most enthusiastic. It was a really fine sight, contentment and goodwill being visible upon every countenance. The whole population must have been in the streets. After partaking of luncheon went into the Hall, filled with people, where I received the addresses of the Corporation and of various other bodies. Then the Children of the National and Free Schools sang the National Anthem; and then we went in procession in the same way we came to Calthorpe Park, which was to be inaugurated this day. Dense masses lined the streets, all most loyal. After planting three trees as an emblem of opening the Park, drove to the Mayor's private house, which is nicely situated just outside the town, and rested there for two hours. At 6.30 went to the King's Arms Hotel, where there was the public dinner for 300 people, which went off admirably, and I made an excellent speech. *2nd.*—At 11.30 I started to go round the various manufactories of Bronzes, Buttons, Arms, Electro-type, &c. It was most interesting and gratifying, the people in the greatest enthusiasm, and evincing the best feeling and spirit throughout our progress. *16th.*—Dined at the Palace last evening to meet the Archduke Maximilian of Austria,[1] brother of the Emperor, who had just arrived—an extremely nice young man. Visit to Birmingham

[1] Afterwards Emperor of Mexico.

1857 Æt. 38 At 12.30 to-day went to the Palace for the Royal Christening of the little Princess Beatrice. It was a State Ceremony in the Private Chapel, and afterwards a very handsome luncheon in the new Ball Room, which had a very fine effect. *19th.*—The Archduke Maximilian has presented me with the Order of St. Stephen in the name of the Emperor of Austria. *22nd.*—Went to St. John's Wood to be photographed by Mr. Lucas, the painter, to whom I am to sit for the Goldsmiths' Company. Dined with the Members of the Junior United Service Club, when there was a very large and handsome inaugurative dinner of the new Club House just built, of 130 Members, Sir James Scarlett [1] being in the chair. I am told that I made an excellent speech on Education in the Army, and Scarlett made an excellent chairman. *26th.*—The Parade took place in Hyde Park at 10 o'c., the Queen riding. Crowds of people were present, and the greater majority saw well. All went off to perfection and entirely without accident. The Queen distributed the Crosses [2] with her own hand, and the troops marched past in excellent order.

The Indian Mutiny

On June 23 London had celebrated the hundredth anniversary of the battle of Plassey, and discussed the raising of a monument to Clive. Amid all the talk which took place on that occasion of the present state and future prospects of the great empire of the East, no word was said to suggest that anything but peace reigned within its borders. But before four suns had set news arrived of a nature so grave as to strike terror into the hearts of those who knew that as yet our sway over the millions of India was founded on military ascendency, and on that alone. The Duke of Cambridge was, of course, among the first to receive the news, and his diary from this time forward

[1] Sir James Yorke Scarlett commanded the Heavy Brigade of cavalry at Balaklava (4th Dragoon Guards, 5th Dragoon Guards, Greys, Inniskillings), and made the famous charge there.

[2] The Victoria Cross was presented on this occasion to some sixty officers and men.

1857
ÆT. 38

is full of references to the peril of the hour. Some of these will be quoted here in so far as they come within the limits of this work. If they appear somewhat brief and disjointed, it must be borne in mind that His Royal Highness began about this time a Military War Journal, in which he dealt fully and minutely with the progress of the campaign. This war journal, which treats also of the Italian campaign of 1859, the American Civil War, and the Franco-German War, has already been published in its proper place in the Military Life of the Duke.

June 27.—Bad accounts have arrived from India, where the Mutinies amongst the Native troops are spreading and several Corps are in open revolt at Delhi. Went to Gloucester House to take over the keys from Liddell, who has finished his business there. 28*th*.—Went to Palmerston to talk over the Indian news with him, which is certainly most alarming and painful, the Native Army of Bengal being in a state of open mutiny. *July* 5.—Had a visit from the Prince of Wales, who is really a charming unaffected lad. 11*th*.—Was startled by bad news from India, the death of poor General Anson,[1] and the extension of the Mutiny throughout Bengal. . . . Sir Colin Campbell is to start for India to-morrow night to Command in Chief and succeed Anson. He accepted without hesitation. 12*th*.—Colin Campbell came, and I took him to the Queen to take leave of her, and she was most gracious to him. He then took leave of my mother and sister, and then I said goodbye to him, with really a very heavy heart, for I love that fine soldier and respect him far more than any words can describe. 15*th*.—Paid a visit early to the Queen of the Netherlands, who has just arrived. She is a most agreeable woman, but has grown much older. *August* 3.—Four more regiments of Infantry, one of Cavalry, and 1,000 Artillery are ordered out to India. This will still

[1] Hon. George Anson, uncle of the 2nd Earl of Lichfield, Commander-in-Chief in India. Died of cholera when starting for the front to command in person at the siege of Delhi.

1857 Æt. 38

further reduce our force at home, and how we are to get the men to replace them I cannot tell, but we must do our best. This all gives a great deal of trouble, and we are very hard worked.

Visit of the Emperor Napoleon and the Empress Eugénie

August 7.—Left for Osborne on a visit to meet the Emperor and Empress Napoleon. T. M. looking remarkably well and in the best possible spirits. They are, as ever, most gracious to me, and the visit is going off to perfection. *8th.*—Had a long talk to the Emperor in conjunction with Albert on the grave complications that have taken place at Constantinople on the question of the Principalities. He was firm in his views, but I cannot say he was unreasonable. Afterwards there was an interview between him and Palmerston and Clarendon, when the difficulties were arranged and got over, I trust, satisfactorily. It was fortunate the Emperor was here in person. This facilitated the solution. *13th.*—Went with Wetherall by train to Kneller Hall to see the new Musical School I have formed there. It seems admirably established and is working most satisfactorily. Major Whitmore, 1st Foot, superintends and seems to take a great interest in it. A charming locality, and they play and sing wonderfully well. I then rode to Twickenham, where I paid a visit to the Duc d'Aumale, a charming place, and they were most agreeable and kind. *18th.*—Went to look over Gloucester House. It is certainly a very fine house, but I'm afraid would never be comfortable to me as a man. However, there is no immediate hurry in deciding the question. *26th.*—Left London for Worcester. Wood [1] was at the station, quite delighted to see me and looking very well, with his little boy, who is a very nice little fellow. Had luncheon and then went over to the Cathedral to hear the end of the Oratorio. Then went to the Deanery—an excellent house but very large. Mr. Peel, brother of the late Sir Robert, is Dean. Went in the evening, after a walk in the town and dinner, to a Concert in the Chapter House.

[1] Canon John Ryle Wood, the Duke's former tutor.

1857
ÆT. 38

Visit to France

About the middle of September the Duke paid a visit to France. He arrived at Châlons on the 17th and went direct to the Emperor's quarters. After breakfast the Emperor drove His Royal Highness round the camp.

Diary, September 17.—The enthusiasm of the Troops for the Emperor is very remarkable. The men looked healthy and well taken care of. 18*th*.—Up early, and at 7 for a great manœuvre. The Emperor commands in person and does it remarkably well and with great coolness and reflection. 20*th*.—The anniversary of the glorious battle of Alma. Singular that I should be here on this very day, after three years, in the midst of the French Army. We had a Mass for the whole force at 9 o'clock. The effect was very grand. The troops were all in full dress and looked remarkably well. They defiled after Mass was over. It was a magnificent and heart-stirring spectacle. After breakfast the Emperor conversed with me for a long time on the state of affairs, and all he said was most just and reasonable and made a great impression on me. 22*nd*.— . . . To-day ended my visit to Châlons, to which I shall ever look back with the greatest interest and pleasure.

October 2.—I had long despatches to-day from Sir Colin Campbell. They gave a gloomy picture of the state of affairs. It is all a question of time as to whether the present forces can hold out till the reinforcements arrive —God grant it! Sir Colin seems to be acting with energy and vigour. 11*th*.—The telegraph has arrived from India. Though nothing very decisive has taken place the accounts are much better and more reassuring. Troops are arriving from all quarters. Delhi was likely to fall soon, Lucknow, it was hoped, would be able to hold out till relieved, and Havelock's force seemed perfectly safe. All this sounds and is very cheerful, the more so as the Bombay and Madras armies appeared steady and likely so to continue.

Numerous letters passed between the Queen and the Duke of Cambridge on the subject of the Indian Mutiny.

1857 Æt. 38

One written by Her Majesty is worthy of the closest attention :

Windsor Castle, October 19.

I return you these interesting and satisfactory letters from our dear old Sir C. Campbell with many thanks.

The news really is far better, and it is evident that this revolution has not extended to the Inhabitants, for which reason great justice and forbearance must be shown towards them, while (alas !) summary punishment must be dealt to the mutineer soldiers. I think it will, however, turn out that a *good many* of those dreadful stories of torture and mutilation, &c. are not true, or at least greatly exaggerated. Several instances (a Colonel and Mrs. Farquharson amongst others) have proved to be *sheer inventions*, and our evidence depends almost entirely upon the evidence of *Natives*. . . .

When it is remembered that at this time the wildest stories of outrage, torture, and mutilation were accepted without question by the whole of the inhabitants of these islands, from peer to peasant, and that even a Cobden, with his cautious habit of mind, could write of 'awful atrocities perpetrated upon women and children,' and 'fiendish outrages upon the defenceless,' the clear, dispassionate view of Her Majesty appears the more remarkable. The verdict of history has amply confirmed the Queen's prophecy. The blood of women and children was indeed ruthlessly spilt, but of outrages upon women, of premeditated tortures, and of wanton mutilations the soul of India is clear.

In Sheffield

Diary, October 21.—Started for Sheffield, changed at station into uniform. Was received by Sir Henry Smith, the Mayor of Sheffield, and Colonel Hodge. Drove in procession through the town. Streets crowded and reception everything one could wish. Laid the stone for the Monument to the Crimean heroes connected with Sheffield and its neighbourhood. Received addresses of Corporation of Sheffield and Cutlers' Company, to which I replied.

Drove then to Cutlers' Hall, where had a collation in the Hall presided over by the Mayor. Made a speech, which was enthusiastically received. Everything passed off well. Returned to station, where I changed my dress and returned to London. *26th.*—Heard that the telegraph had arrived bringing an account of the taking of Delhi after six days' hard fighting and considerable loss on our side. It is a great event and I trust it may turn out for the best, though it is serious to reflect that this mutinous Army will now, for some time, be scattered all over the country, endangering, I fear, our smaller detachments. 1857 ÆT. 38

November 4.—This was the day appointed for my receiving the freedom and sword from the City of London. Left St. James's Palace a little before 5, accompanied by the whole of my Staff in two carriages. Went to Guildhall, which was well filled and lighted up with gas, and had a very fine appearance. Sir John Key, the Chamberlain, addressed me and I had to reply. The whole went off well. Then I accompanied the Lord Mayor to the Mansion House, where there was a great dinner for 280 in the Great Hall. It was a fine entertainment, and my speech was well received. I cannot say as much for that of Granville, who endeavoured to make a laboured defence of Canning, which would not go down. Altogether it was a most satisfactory day for me, and one of which I may feel justly proud. *10th.*—Staying at Windsor, and when out shooting arrived an account from Claremont of the sudden death of the poor Duchess of Nemours[1] after her confinement, over which she appeared to have got perfectly well. This unexpected event cast a deep gloom over the Queen, Albert and all the family. I offered to leave for London, and the Queen sent to see me and seemed to wish to be left quiet and alone, Albert having gone at once to Claremont. I therefore returned by the 4.30 train. *11th.*—Received the telegraph whilst out of the arrival of the Indian mail, giving an account of the complete evacuation of Delhi by the rebels on the 21st, the surrender of the old King with his

Honour from the City of London

[1] A princess of Coburg; first cousin of the Queen and Prince Albert, and wife of the Duc de Nemours, son of King Louis Philippe.

1857 Æt. 38 favourite wife and also of two of his sons. The former were spared, but the two latter at once shot. General Nicholson had died of his wounds and we had a loss there of 61 Officers and 1,170 men killed and wounded. Also heard of the relief of Lucknow on the 25th September, in which affair General Neale was killed, besides 400 men killed and wounded. In all other respects the accounts are satisfactory. 12*th*.—A second telegram has arrived to-day from Calcutta which gives a less favourable account about Lucknow. It appears from it, that, in consequence of the numerous enemies surrounding the force under Havelock, Generals Outram and Havelock could not take the garrison away with them, nor take the town, but only strengthen the place and retire themselves upon Cawnpore. This is very serious and most disagreeable and has rather damped our pleasure. The monetary crisis seems calming down, but the pressure has been very great and many houses have been ruined. 14*th*.—The Indian mails have both come in. The Calcutta one, with letters from Colin Campbell, is very serious. The last accounts from Lucknow say that none of the force there can get out or return to Cawnpore. This is most distressing, as I do not see whence troops are to be provided to relieve this gallant band.

December 2.—Heard of the sudden death last night, in a fit, of my poor dear friend Norman MacDonald.[1] It gave me quite a shock when I heard the news, and I feel I have lost with him a real friend. He will be a great loss to society in general, and was invaluable in his office. He was seized when paying a visit to poor Lady Ely. 5*th*.—Drove down in my brougham to Kensal Green to join and attend poor MacDonald's funeral. It was kept quiet and private, there being nobody present, beside myself, but Dr. Martin, Breadalbane, Carlisle, Raglan, Ernest Bruce and Phipps. With deep sorrow we committed him to his last resting place. With him I have lost a dear and most valued friend. A better hearted man I never met with. 8*th*.—With difficulty, owing to a dense fog, the like of which I have never seen before in my life, hurried down on foot to the

[1] Comptroller in the Lord Chamberlain's department.

House to make some observations on the pension to be granted to Sir Henry Havelock, which passed without opposition in both Houses, the Commons only insisting that it should be for two lives instead of for one, as proposed. A special Steamer has reached us with letters from Sir Colin Campbell, still very gloomy about Lucknow. He is himself moving up to Cawnpore to take the command, and left Calcutta on the 27th of October. 1857 ÆT. 38

(*From the Queen*)

Osborne, December 10.

I return you these very interesting letters, which certainly give serious cause for anxiety.

May God grant that Lucknow may still be able to hold out! Don't you think Havelock's Despatch ought to be published in the *Gazette*? It is the only authentic account yet received.

I should like to have a copy of Sir Colin Campbell's letter. How admirably he orders and arranges everything! Pray say everything kind and flattering to him in our name, and express a hope he won't expose himself unnecessarily—on him depends *everything* there now.

Diary, December 23.—Heard of the arrival of the telegram with news of the relief of Lucknow by Sir Colin Campbell, after several days' hard fighting. The ladies, children and wounded rescued and sent off to Cawnpore. This is a very comforting event. 31*st*.—Went down to Windsor to stay at the Castle. At 12 the New Year was ushered in by general congratulations, and all retired to rest. Many absent friends were thought of and many reflections of the past year (a most eventful one) come across one. To me the end of one year and the commencement of another, so far from being a source of rejoicing, is always rather one of regret that another year should have passed away with all its joys and its troubles. But these events are in the hands of God, and we mortals must do our best to perform our duty and prepare for that end which none of us can avert. A blessing and happiness Relief of Lucknow

1857 Æt. 38 then I wish to all my friends far and near, and trust that the Year upon which we are about to enter may be a source of comfort and happiness to all. Good-bye then to this eventful year 1857 !

1858 *January* 12, 1858.—The Indian Mail has arrived, but I had no letters from Sir Colin. . . . There is a long and interesting account of the defence of Lucknow by Brigadier Inglis,[1] and an interesting despatch from Sir Colin, giving full particulars of his advance for the relief of the garrison and subsequent retirement from Lucknow and return to Cawnpore.

(*From the Queen*)

Windsor Castle, January 15, 1858.

I return you your paper signed. I had yesterday morning written to Lord Palmerston urging this *very* thing to be done for that most gallant and heroic officer, Colonel Inglis, and also urging the consideration of rewards for these Heroes. How I wish I could fly there and place a wreath of laurels on dear old Sir Colin's and Colonel Inglis's brows.

On January 25 the Princess Royal was married to Prince Frederick William of Prussia. The marriage had been arranged in the Spring of 1856, but the news of the engagement had, at the time, been communicated only to the members of the Royal family. The Duke of Cambridge was, of course, one of the first to be informed in a letter which the Queen wrote to him on April 4, 1856.

Buckingham Palace.—I write to you to-day to announce to you an event which I know you will take much interest in, and which now that Vicky's Confirmation has taken place ought no longer to be kept a secret from the members of our family : it is that she is engaged to Prince Frederick William of Prussia.

As the marriage *itself* is *not* to take place till Vicky

[1] Major-General Sir John Eardley-Wilmot Inglis, K.C.B., in command of the defence of Lucknow.

has attained her 17th year, it will not be officially announced or publicly till a short time before that takes place. 1858 ÆT. 38

We expect Fritz Wilhelm here about the middle or latter part of next month. He is so excellent, and both young people are so decidedly attached to each other, that we have every prospect of the future happiness of our beloved child being thereby secured.

The King of Prussia has been extremely kind about it, and says that it is the fulfilment of his *sehnlichsten Wunsch*.[1]

That the Queen's news was not unexpected by His Royal Highness we may see from a letter which he had written while in Scotland in 1855: 'On the railroad yesterday a young man came up and spoke to me. To my astonishment, it was the young Prince of Prussia *en route* to Balmoral, so evidently that marriage is to be. He came on in my carriage and pleased me very much; his views and opinions are excellent.'

Marriage of the Princess Royal to Prince Frederick William of Prussia

Diary, January 25.—This was the great day of the wedding. It was a lovely day, cold, but fine and bright. At a quarter before 12, we all assembled for the ceremony at St. James's. The processions and the whole arrangements were admirably organised and went off to perfection without the least confusion or drawback. Altogether it was most gratifying and everybody seemed delighted. The young couple looked well and happy and carried off their part of the ceremony remarkably well. The marriage over and the signatures affixed to the deed, we all proceeded in State to Buckingham Palace for luncheon. The Park was crowded with people, all in the best temper and spirit, though seeing very little or nothing. The members of the French Royal family joined us in addition to all the Royalties that are in England. *February* 2.—At 11.30 went to Buckingham Palace. The taking leave then was painful in the extreme and most affecting. Punctually at a quarter before twelve we all started in carriages and four.

[1] 'Most heartfelt wish.'

1858 Æt. 38 I accompanied them, driving with Prince Alfred, Lady Churchill and Countess Perponcher. We went right through the City to the Bricklayers' Arms Station. The cold was intense, and it snowed hard, but in spite of all this, crowds of people lined the streets. and their loyalty was unbounded. By train to Gravesend, and in the pony phaetons to the Pier, where embarked at once on board the Royal Yacht. The arrangements at Gravesend were extremely good, but required a much finer and warmer day. Had luncheon at once on board and then the moment arrived for taking leave of Albert and the two boys. This was most sad, and at three exactly, with a heavy heart, we saw them sail! Poor dear child! May God bless and protect her! *9th.*—Accounts have arrived from Germany giving a most favourable report of the reception of the Princess Royal, which appears to have gone off with very great enthusiasm, both at Berlin and everywhere along the road, including Hanover! This is very gratifying and I trust augurs well for the future of the dear Princess. *26th.*—Had the mail in from India, with letter from Sir Colin Campbell, of the 15th of December. It is a most interesting mail, and one that is on the whole satisfactory. So far all has gone well and Sir Colin is preparing for his great attack on Lucknow. He must be thoroughly backed up and supported by us, for he is doing admirably.

Æt. 39 Confirmation of the Prince of Wales

April 1.—At 12 o'c. attended the ceremony of Confirmation of the Prince of Wales, which was performed in the private Chapel of the Castle by the Archbishop of Canterbury,[1] supported by the Bishops of Oxford and Chichester, the Dean of Windsor, &c. Besides the family and household, some of the leading Statesmen were present, and all the Officers connected with the Duchy of Cornwall. The Archbishop made an address to the Prince, and all was over by 1 o'c. Then had luncheon and look leave of the Queen. *17th.*—Dined at the Palace to meet the Duc de Malakoff,[2]

[1] Dr. John Bird Sumner.

[2] Marshal Pélissier, Duc de Malakoff. Commanded French army in the Crimea, and was subsequently French Ambassador at the Court of St. James's.

George 1891.

H. R. H. Prince George of Cambridge
from a lithograph
(Signed by H. R. H. in 1891.)

Emery Walker ph. S.

who arrived on Thursday. He seems quite new to his position, but I like his frankness and the general tone of his conversation, though he is evidently no courtier. 1858 ÆT. 39

22nd.—Dined at the United Service Club, when I was in the Chair at a large dinner given by the Club to the Duc de Malakoff. We sat down 150 to dinner. It was well arranged and all went off very satisfactorily and well, and he appeared much pleased. It lasted till twelve. My speeches are pronounced to have been judicious and good. *28th.*—Mr. Russell's [1] account of the taking of Lucknow is most interesting. The troops behaved most nobly, and the whole affair appears to have been most admirably managed by the Chief. We have heard, alas ! of the death of several fine fellows, amongst others of poor Ingram of the 97th—a very good fellow and a great friend of mine.

May 7.—To the House of Lords, where we had a very animated discussion on a Proclamation [2] of Lord Canning's to the people of Oude, confiscating their property, and a consequent despatch disapproving of said Proclamation by Lord Ellenborough on the part of the Government. It appears to me that this latter document is a most unfortunate one, and that it may lead to renewed difficulties in India, and not unlikely to the resignation of Lord Canning as Governor-General, which would be greatly to be deplored. *18th.*—Heard this morning by letter from the Duc d'Aumale of the sudden and most unexpected death of the Duchesse d'Orléans [3] after a short illness. This event is melancholy in itself and a great blow to the whole of the family, of which she was the life and soul in late years. *20th.*—Derby day. Went down to the Race with George Wombwell and others at 10.30. Sir Joseph Hawley's horse, Beads-

[1] Correspondent of *The Times* ; afterwards Sir William Howard Russell.

[2] Lord Canning never intended to carry out a policy of general confiscation, and in a private letter to Mr. Vernon Smith, ex-President of the Board of Control, he expressly stated that the proclamation would require further explanation, which he had not time then to provide. Lord Ellenborough assumed full responsibility for his dispatch, and resigned office, and the attack on the Government failed in both Houses.

[3] A princess of Mecklenburg-Schwerin ; mother of the Comte de Paris and the Duc de Chartres, and widow of the Duc d'Orléans, eldest son of Louis Philippe.

1858 Æt. 39

man, won easy, Toxopholite, Lord Derby's horse, second. I had backed the second horse, who, however, was fairly beaten. Hawley is said to have won £50,000—an immense sum. Lunched in my carriage just behind the Stand. 30*th*.—Chapel Royal re-opened to-day and exactly restored to what it was before the Royal Marriage, with the exception of leaving the window over the Altar in its improved state. *June* 15.—Started for Marlborough with Lord Ailesbury and other Governors. Dr. Cotton, Bishop of Calcutta, received us at the school. I heard the Speeches and was present at the distribution of the Prizes. Lunched in Hall and then returned to London.

Royal visit to Cherbourg

When it was decided that the Queen should pay a visit to Cherbourg, in order to meet there the Emperor and Empress of the French, the Duke of Cambridge, who was desirous of being one of the party, wrote to Her Majesty to ask if he might accompany her. The Queen replied :

Osborne, July 11.

There will be no difficulty in your accompanying us, but I think you should not determine the length of your stay at Cherbourg without consulting the Ministers, who may think it advisable for you to stay longer.

The visit took place in August.

Diary, August 4.—At 11.30 attended the Queen on board the *Victoria and Albert* and sailed at 12 for Cherbourg. The Queen and Prince are accompanied by the Prince of Wales, Lady Desart, and Miss Bulteel, Malmesbury, Packington, De la Warr, Phipps, Hood, Du Plat and self, with Tyrwhitt and Col. Chapman of the Engineers. Five miles off Cherbourg the fleet under Lord Lyons were waiting for us, and the whole steamed in together under a thundering salute from the French fleet and batteries ashore. It was a noble sight and most interesting. After dining the Emperor and Empress came off at 8.30 to welcome the Queen, and a cordial meeting took place which certainly was very interesting. They remained about an hour and then

PUBLIC BERMONDSEY

returned to shore, and we spent a quiet evening. The place looks a very formidable one, and there are several battle-ships—some of which are fully manned. *5th.*—At 12 we landed in uniform under heavy salutes, going into harbour in the *Little Fairy*. The Emperor and Empress met us at the landing and we proceeded to the Préfecture Maritime, where the Emperor is staying, and where we breakfasted, or rather 'luncheoned.' Then we drove up to the fort overhanging the Town, whence the view is a most beautiful one. The fort is not very strong nor do I think it of great use from a military point of view, but it forms a sort of citadel to the whole place. On our return went off on board under a heavy salute. These salutes amount in all to 3,000 guns each time, as they are composed of a succession of three broadsides. At seven the Emperor came off to the *Bretagne*, and the Queen with ourselves immediately followed him to that noble vessel of 140 guns, where we dined. It was handsome and we sat down 60. The Emperor spoke well in giving the Queen's health, and Albert answered satisfactorily in French. After dinner we had fireworks and illumination of the fleet, and this ended the day's work, the Emperor bringing the Queen back to the Yacht in his barge. *6th.*—The Emperor came off to take leave of the Queen, accompanied by the Empress. They stayed about an hour and the meeting appeared a cordial one. On his leaving the Yacht we immediately got under weigh, and steamed out in the same order, with the English fleet as an escort, as we came in, the French fleet and batteries giving another heavy salute. The day was lovely and it was a most magnificent sight. Reached Osborne at five, when I left for London, having taken leave of the Queen.

1858
ÆT. 39

Windsor, November 9.—The Prince of Wales's birthday. After breakfast a *feu de joie* was fired by the troops in garrison. The Prince of Wales called on me in uniform to report himself on his appointment this day to Colonel unattached in the Army. He looked very well in his dress and seemed very happy. At dinner he wore the Garter for the first time. *London, December* 5.—The Indian Mail

The Prince of Wales's birthday

1858 Æt. 39 came in this morning, bringing letters from Sir Colin with good accounts. The campaign has opened well in every direction and Michel [1] has been very successful in Central India. The Proclamation announcing the transfer of authority to the Crown had been issued on the 1st of November, and was well received at Bombay and in other parts. 19*th*.—The mail from India has come in bringing letters which give good accounts, excepting as regards the wish of some of the European soldiers of the late Company's service to be discharged. This is an awkward question, but I hope it will be handled with tact by the authorities in India.

The Diary on December 31 ends as follows :

May God in His mercy grant us all a happy Year upon which we have now entered, and forgive us for the many sins and neglects of which I know and feel that I have been guilty during the one just ended. Thus ends the Year 1858.

[1] General Sir John Michel, who afterwards became Commander-in-Chief in Ireland.

CHAPTER IX

THE AMERICAN WAR CLOUD—ILLNESS AND DEATH OF THE PRINCE CONSORT

1859–1862

The Duke and the Prince of Wales—Opening of Wellington College—The war of Italian liberation—The vote of thanks to the Indian Army—Speech by His Royal Highness—Death of Baron Knesebeck—Family gathering at Rumpenheim—Removal to Gloucester House—Visit to the Prince of Wales at Oxford—Offer of colonelcy of Coldstream Guards—Attitude towards the Volunteers—The China expedition—Death of the Duchess of Kent—Forty-second birthday—Life at Rumpenheim—Prussian manœuvres at Brühl—Letter from the Queen on the death of the King of Portugal—American war cloud—Seizure of the Southern Commissioners—Illness and death of the Prince Consort—The last hours—Letters to His Royal Highness from Sir Charles Phipps—Illness of the Duke—The American peril—Prince of Wales starts for the East

1859
Æt. 39

Affection for the Queen's children

THE pages of the diary of the Duke of Cambridge and his correspondence bear constant testimony to the affection which His Royal Highness felt for the members of the Queen's family, and the interest which he took in all their movements. 'The children are very darling, the Princess Royal much grown,' he writes to his mother, when on a visit to Windsor after his return from the Crimea. 'I think the children are fond of me,' is an entry which occurs more than once. As the members of the family grow up and begin to play their part on the great stage of the world, the Duke marks their appearance with satisfaction, and records their success with pride. Two instances at this point will suffice by way of illustration. Early in January 1859, the Prince of Wales went down to Folkestone to present colours to the 100th Canadian Regiment. The Duke accompanied him and wrote of the ceremony: 'The

1859 Æt. 39

Prince of Wales did it very well, and made an excellent address to the Regiment. After the Colours had been given the 100th and all the troops in Garrison then marched past. The 100th then gave us a very handsome luncheon, and at 4.30 we rode back to Folkestone Station. Then I took leave of the Prince, who proceeded to Dover on his road to Italy, where he is going for some months, and I came back to London by the Special.' Again: 'We heard last night' (January 27) 'the charming intelligence from Berlin that the dear Princess Royal had at 3 o'c. yesterday been confined of a son and heir. Both mother and child are doing extremely well. It is a great source of joy, both in England and Germany. The news arrived in England by telegraph in six minutes, which is almost marvellous.'

Opening of Wellington College

Diary, January 29.—Went to-day at 10 o'clock by special train, with the Governors of the College to the Wellington College to attend its formal opening by the Queen. We arrived there at 11.30, and the Queen and Prince came at 12.30. After walking over and inspecting the building, an address was read to the Queen, to which she replied. We took luncheon and then returned to Windsor. The building is convenient, but I cannot say I admire the architecture much. It was built by Mr. Shaw. There are at present 61 boys there, and it will hold 240 boys, but at present the funds of the Institution would not admit of this number being admitted.

February 14.—Had to attend at a trial, Dickson *v.* Wilton, brought by Lt.-Colonel Dickson against Wilton for a libel and defamation of character.[1] I had to give evidence

[1] The plaintiff was Lieutenant-Colonel Dickson, formerly of the 2nd Tower Hamlets Militia, and he sued the defendant, the (2nd) Earl of Wilton, who was colonel of the regiment, to recover damages for the publication of slander, and also of two libels, imputing to the plaintiff a misapplication of funds belonging to the regiment. The defendant pleaded the general issue, and also that the slander and libels complained of were true in substance and fact. The jury found for the plaintiff on all the issues, negativing the defendant's *bona fides* and pleas of justification, and assessing £200 as damages for the slander and £5 for the libels.

on some military matters. I think to give evidence in the Courts of Westminster Hall is one of the most disagreeable things possible. There is much excitement about this case and the Court was greatly crowded. Sir FitzRoy Kelly was leading counsel for Lord Wilton, and Mr. Edwin James for Dickson. 15*th*.—The trial has been given against Wilton, with considerable damages. This is most disagreeable. 1859 ÆT. 39

The year 1859 was one of wars and rumours of wars. Count Cavour had determined that Italy should be free and that France should be the agent of her liberation, and when Cavour was determined others had to bend to his dominant will. Louis Napoleon was persuaded that the Austrians must be expelled from Italy, and the coming of the open rupture was merely a question of time. The first rumblings of the storm were heard in Paris on New Year's Day, when the Emperor told the Austrian Ambassador that the relations of the two countries were not such as he could desire. On January 13, the Duke of Cambridge wrote : 'There are great fears of war in Italy. The Emperor Napoleon made some sharp allusion to Baron Hübner, Austrian Minister at Paris, on New Year's Day. The King of Sardinia has made a strong speech in the same tendency on his opening the Sardinian Chambers and the Prince Napoleon is to marry the King of Sardinia's daughter. These events combined lead to the rumours which are prevalent, and which are most unfortunate. The funds have been much affected and large Austrian reinforcements are moving into Italy.' The war of Italian liberation

During the early months of the year the English Government offered France and Austria much good advice in the cause of peace. But Count Cavour had no intention of allowing Louis Napoleon to draw back till he had discharged his bond, and in April the Duke had to write : 'Accounts from abroad are most unsatisfactory. Large

1859 ÆT. 40

bodies of Austrians are moving towards Italy; the French Army is being rapidly placed on a war footing; Sardinia refuses to disarm and everything looks most serious. We are ordered to look to our Mediterranean Garrisons, and strengthen them. To me war appears inevitable.'

The war came and was soon over, for the Austrian Army was no match for the forces of France and Sardinia. But, in view of the threatening attitude of the German States, Louis Napoleon, who had set out to free Italy from the Alps to the Sea, was content to make peace on the understanding that Lombardy should be liberated from Austrian rule.

The vote of thanks to the Indian Army

Diary, April 14.—Went to House of Lords, when Lord Derby moved a vote of thanks to the Indian Army and officials on the conclusion of hostilities in that country. His speech was a very good one, and he was followed by Granville, myself and Ellenborough. It passed off very well.

To the Duke was assigned the task of filling up the void supposed to be left by the list of meritorious names embodied in the resolution. This he did, mentioning such names as those of Brigadier Jones, Brigadier Horsford, Brigadier Barker, Brigadier Showers, Brigadier Troup, and Brigadier Douglas. But he did more; in the course of a careful review of the operations he paid a tribute of praise to the ready co-operation of the civil authorities. 'When I come to ask myself how the recent fearful outbreak has been brought to so rapid and so complete a termination, I cannot doubt that the chief cause of this auspicious result has been the cordiality and good feeling which existed between the civil and military authorities of India. But for that I believe it would have been impossible for the gallantry of our troops, however heroic, or for the skill of their commanders, however admirable, to have brought

India so speedily to its present tranquil condition.' After a happy reference to the world-wide fame of Lord Clyde and the services of Sir William Mansfield, the Duke turned to the combinations which had marked the campaign. 'It is in this that this Indian campaign has been remarkable—not so much for hard fighting as for the great combination it has required, and the bringing of different columns to bear upon various points. I believe there never was an instance of any campaign in which the evolutions of columns were so ably carried out as in this. I am not aware, in the whole course of it, of a single occasion on which any column intended for a particular post, and required to take a considerable share in any operation, was not found at its appointed place and did not carry out the duty assigned to it in the general combination.' Of the work of Sir Hugh Rose in Central India he said: 'Certainly if any officer ever performed acts of the greatest daring, valour, and determination, those acts were performed by my gallant friend, Sir Hugh Rose. I personally had an opportunity of seeing what manner of man my gallant friend is, and of what stuff he is made, and I was satisfied at the time that if ever the right occasion presented itself he would be found to distinguish himself in the extraordinary manner which he has lately done.' After mentioning the names of General Mitchel, Brigadier Park, Brigadier Smith, and Brigadier Lockhart, the Duke continued: 'In remarking on the military operations of the campaign I cannot pass over some other department of the service without which the military movements would have been paralysed; I would mention the commissariat and medical departments, which by accident, no doubt, have been omitted from mention. But I must think, when we reflect on the state of the country . . . that it was wonderful how the commissariat kept the troops as efficiently supplied as it evidently must have done. . . . I think that the

1859
ÆT. 40

1859 Æt. 40 medical department of the Army has also well discharged its most important and most valuable duties.' Then he turned to the future of India: 'It is a question of deep and vast importance. I think that now the military officers have performed their portion of the work that of the civilians will really and truly begin. I am perfectly aware that the first duty of the civil government is to control its expenditure, but on the other hand, economy may be carried too far. Every effort should be made to keep down the military establishment, but I hope every reduction will be made with the caution and attention so important and difficult a matter fairly deserves.' Mention was made of Sir John Lawrence and Sir Sydney Cotton, and the Duke concluded: 'My Lords, combined with the tribute of our thanks we have also expressed the pain and sorrow we feel for the losses we have sustained in the great men who have died nobly and gloriously; they felt that they died doing their duty, and it is ours to do honour to their names and their memory. It is a feeling that lies deep in the heart of every Englishman. That feeling will not lightly be eradicated, and as long as history speaks of the great events that have taken place in India, the world will never forget the valour and daring performed by a Havelock, a Nicholson, a Neale, an Adrian Hope, and many other heroes.'

Diary, May 24.—Called at the Duchess of Kent's, who is extremely ill. It is a sad thing, as to-day being the Queen's birthday, the Duchess was to have been at Osborne. It appears to be a violent attack of erysipelas with great prostration of strength.

June 1.—Derby Day. Went down in my phaeton with Prince Edward. Musjed won the Derby, belonging to Sir Joseph Hawley. It was a beautiful race, Sir Joseph winning about £100,000.

June 24.—At a little before 8 this morning I was

summoned to the deathbed of my poor dear friend Knesebeck. I was dreadfully shocked to hear that this melancholy event was impending, for though he had been very seriously ill for some days, none of us had any reason to expect that matters would so soon end thus. It was indeed a most painful moment. My dear Mother and sisters were all present with me. He was quite unconscious when I arrived and at a little before 9 breathed his last without any severe effort. His loss to my family is quite irreparable. To us all for years he has been the kind and devoted friend and follower. I don't believe he would have had an enemy in the world. May his soul rest in peace! *29th.*—Drove down to Kew to attend the funeral of poor Knesebeck, and many personal friends attended uninvited. It was a most melancholy ceremony. The inhabitants of Kew showed the best possible feeling. The body is deposited in our own vault at Kew. *August* 13.—Dined at the Grocers' Company, where I was enrolled as a member of that ancient Guild.

1859 ÆT. 40

Death of Baron Knesebeck

The Duke left London on August 23, and two days later reached Rumpenheim, 'where I found an immense family party, who received me most graciously and kindly, and I felt at once at home among them all.'

Rumpenheim again

On arrival I heard of the death of Count Decken,[1] my Aunt Louisa's husband, on the 20th. I found my poor Aunt very composed, but to her it is a dreadful blow and altogether most sad that it should have occurred here during our family meeting. There are at present 35 in the house, who dine daily together, besides little children too young to come to table. Besides my three uncles—William, Frederick, and George—Mama and my two sisters, with Fritz and Adolphus, Lady Geraldine, Wenckstern, and young Knesebeck and myself, there are Aunt Lotte, Fritz Hessen with his wife, Anna, child, and Lady and Monsieur de Oertzen, their Gentleman, Mimmi with two daughters and a Lady, Mademoiselle de Bus, Louisa with Christian

[1] General von Decken, a distinguished officer in the German Legion.

1859 Æt. 40 and 6 children and a Lady, Countess Reventlow, Aunt Marie, Lilli, Countess Plessen, Adelheid Nassau with Lady, Mademoiselle Bartolin and Count Holke. Rumpenheim is in every respect immensely improved ; all the old recollections are retained, but the comforts of the place are looked to and it is kept in admirable order.

His Royal Highness returned to London on September 9, and the autumn was spent in military and public duties, varied from time to time by brief visits to personal friends.

Diary, November 17.—Attended at 11 o'c. at St. George's Church, Hanover Square, the wedding of Lady Cecilia Lennox[1] with Lord Bingham.[2] There was a large family party collected for the occasion, and all went off well, the bride looking very nice indeed. Thence to Portland Place to see the young couple off.

1860 *January* 21, 1860.—Had letters this morning from Lord Clyde giving some details as to the China Expedition,[3] which he is preparing, and giving an excellent account of the state of affairs in India, where he says tranquillity is being entirely restored, and all the troops have returned to their respective Presidencies, so that in Bengal the only troops left are those belonging to the Presidency. This is truly satisfactory and the Mutiny may be considered as completely at an end.

Æt. 41 Removal to Gloucester House

March 27.—To-day, alas ! I leave my dear apartment at St. James's in order to remove to Gloucester House. I confess I am very low and miserable about it, but it must be done and there is no help for it. For 19 years I have lived in these dear rooms and many are the happy hours I have spent there.

Visit to the Prince of Wales at Oxford

Went down to Oxford to pay a visit to the Prince of Wales. I arrived there for lunch and drove at once to Frewen Hall, where he lives. It is a nice old house and he is very comfortable there. After luncheon we walked about the town and saw the Bodleian

[1] Daughter of the 5th Duke of Richmond.

[2] Afterwards 4th Earl of Lucan.

[3] The object of the expedition was to insist on the reinforcement of the Treaty of Tien-tsin.

Library, Christ Church, Exeter College, etc. I was much pleased with my visit. On my return to London in the evening, went direct to Gloucester House. It is, at present, very uncomfortable and feels particularly large and disjointed. 28*th*.—Busy all the morning, endeavouring to make myself more comfortable, which is not an easy matter with the quantity of things that are about in all directions, both belonging to the house and of my own. 31*st*.—At home all the morning and very busy hanging pictures and trying to arrange the house, which is improving, though I still feel very much lost in it. *April* 4.—Went down to Windsor for the Confirmation to-morrow of Alfred.[1] 5*th*.—Went to St. George's Chapel to see a very handsome and appropriate monument erected by the Queen to dear Aunt Gloucester. It is really in excellent taste. At 12 the ceremony of Confirmation was performed by the Archbishop of Canterbury,[2] supported by the Bishop of Oxford.[3] It took place in the private Chapel of the Castle. *May* 2.—Was in the Chair at the London Tavern for the London Hospital. Had a most excellent Meeting and collected the unprecedented sum of £23,700. It was a great effort to make good a deficiency by the loss of Long Annuities falling in this year, and it was a most successful result. 1860 ÆT. 41

(*From the Queen*)

Buckingham Palace, June 4.

I was just going to write to you on the subject of poor Lord Strafford's death, which we heard of from Lord Enfield last night, when I received your note. When the dear old Duke of Wellington died you expressed a wish to have the Coldstream Guards, as your poor Father had had it, but Lord Strafford did not wish to give it up, and therefore you got the Scotch Fusilier Guards, when Albert got the Grenadiers, but if my memory is correct, you said at the same time that you hoped I would remember your wishes on the subject, on some future

[1] Duke of Edinburgh, second son of Queen Victoria.
[2] Dr. John Bird Sumner. [3] Dr. Samuel Wilberforce.

1860 Æt. 41

occasion. I therefore write at once to ask you if you still wish to have the Coldstream Guards in preference to the Scots Fusiliers, as, if you did, I should be too happy to give you the Regiment.

Diary, *June* 16.—Dined with the Grenadier Guards, who had a great gathering in the Banqueting Room at St. James's, the Prince Consort in the Chair, on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of the formation of the Regiment. Upwards of 200 sat down to dinner, and the Prince spoke and presided remarkably well. 18*th*.—Busy to-day arranging the house for the reception of the Queen at dinner, she having signified her gracious intention of dining with me. She came at 8, accompanied by the King of the Belgians, Prince Consort, Princess Alice, Count of Flanders, Lady Gainsborough, Miss Stopford, General Seymour, de Ros, General Möekerk,[1] and I invited to meet her, my mother, Augusta, Mary, Edward Weimar, Lords Derby, Granville, Palmerston, Clarendon, Peel, Van de Weyer, Kielmansegge, Tyrwhitt and self. The house looked its best, the dinner was very good, and everything passed off in a most satisfactory manner. It was Waterloo Day.

The Volunteer movement

The year 1860 saw new interest aroused in the Volunteer forces and great additions made to their numbers. The cause is not far to seek. The boundless ambitions imputed to Louis Napoleon had for some time been producing a feeling of growing disquietude and distrust on this side of the Channel, and when it became known that Sardinia had been compelled to surrender Nice and Savoy as the price of French co-operation, uneasiness became hardly distinguishable from panic. The word 'invasion' was on every man's tongue, and the citizen was everywhere keen to bear arms in defence of his home and country. The Duke of Cambridge manifested a warm interest in the movement and gave it strong support. Writing of the Queen's levee for the Volunteers on March 7, he said:

[1] In attendance on the King of the Belgians.

'It went off remarkably well. The Volunteer officers really looked wonderfully well and smart.' On the evening of the same day His Royal Highness took the chair in St. James's Hall at the Volunteer Dinner. Of the great Volunteer Review on June 23 he wrote: 'Was early in the Park, the day looking very promising for the great Volunteer Review which is to come off to-day. At 2 proceeded to the Park, where there were dense masses of people. All the Corps came in in rapid succession and looked remarkably well. At 4 the Line of Columns was formed, the Queen arrived, the march past took place, and the whole thing passed off most admirably. Nothing could possibly be finer than the whole appearance of the Corps, and the impression produced was one of astonishment and delight. About 20,000 men were under arms. After the last salute and general cheering for Her Majesty, the troops moved off. Not an accident happened of any sort or kind and the day was magnificent.' 1860 ÆT. 41

(*From the Queen*)

Buckingham Palace, June 29.

I am extremely sorry to hear of this *fresh* attack of gout, and it is really quite necessary that you should go to some of the German Baths this summer or autumn, for *you* want health and strength for your duties, and *I* and the *country cannot do* without *you*, and you know that, and therefore it is a *real duty* to try and get rid of this tiresome tendency to gout. . . .

Diary, *July* 2.—At 2.30 drove down to Wimbledon to see the Queen open the National Rifle Shooting; a great many people present. The Queen and Prince received addresses, and it was arranged she should fire the first shot, which she did. 31*st*.—Dined at United Service Club, where I took the chair at a dinner given to Lord Clyde. It was very handsomely and well done; about 150 sat down and all went off well, though Lord Clyde had a great difficulty in making a speech. *October* 22.—Went to Windsor by

1860 Æt. 41

6.30 train to meet the Russian Grand Duke [1] and Duchess there with their suite. Much pleased with their appearance and general bearing, and nothing could be more agreeable than his manner to me, and the mode in which he spoke of the Crimean War, etc. She is the sister of the Princess of Leiningen and a very pleasing person. *November* 3.—Inkermann Day. How many recollections are brought to mind by the Anniversary of this great event in my career through life, now six years ago! I shall ever think with grateful feelings at having been spared through that glorious day to our British Army. *Windsor, December* 4.—Attended the Queen at her reception of the Empress Eugénie, who came for luncheon and on a visit, soon after 1 o'clock. She looked changed, since last I saw her, but not ill, in the ordinary acceptation of the term, but certainly much depressed. It was rather a painful meeting, when one remembers how gay and hopeful the last visit was. At 2 we lunched as usual, and at 3 she returned by special train to London. Albert met her and took her back to the Station. The Queen with all of us received her at the entrance. The Emperor's name was only mentioned by her once. She had with her Madame de Montebello and de Sauley, Monsieur de la Grange and Colonel Funé.

The China expedition

The China Expedition, to the preparations for which the Duke referred in the early part of the year, had gone rapidly forward. The British and French forces had captured the Taku forts and occupied Tien-tsin with little difficulty, and had then proceeded to march on Peking. Eager to prevent the foreigners from entering the capital, the Chinese authorities at last prevailed upon Lord Elgin to enter into negotiations at Tung-chau, and Lord Elgin's secretaries, Mr. Parkes (afterwards Sir Harry Parkes) and Mr. Loch, were sent forward with an escort to arrange for

[1] The Grand Duke Michael Nicholaievitch, son of the Emperor Nicholas, married in 1857 the Princess Cecile of Baden, who afterwards took the name of Olga.

a meeting between the envoys and the Chinese Commissioners. On their return journey the party had to pass through the Chinese lines, and a chance quarrel led to a general engagement. Mr. Parkes and Mr. Loch and a number of their companions were seized, in spite of the fact that they carried a flag of truce, and hurried away to captivity and torture. The Duke of Cambridge writes of these events : 1860 ÆT. 41

December 8.—A telegram arrived from China which says that Parkes and Loch are returned safe. Anderson [1] and de Normann [2] died from the effects of ill-treatment ; Brabazon and Bowlby [3] unaccounted for. Two principal Gates of Peking in our possession ; Emperor's Summer Palace sacked and large amount of treasure found there ; the Emperor fled to Tartary. The force to winter at Peking and Tien-tsin. I am much shocked at this news, particularly at the death of young de Normann, which is truly sad, more particularly on account of his poor Mother, who will be heartbroken. I also confess that I do not like the accounts of the flight of the Emperor, and the wintering of the force in that populous country. 15*th*.—The mail from China has come in. The sufferings of poor Messrs. de Normann and Anderson before their death seem to have been fearful. Messrs. Parkes and Loch seem also to have been much ill-treated. Some doubts still exist as regards Messrs. Brabazon and Bowlby. Altogether the news seems good. There seems every prospect of a treaty being signed and of the troops not having to winter at Peking, but rather at Tien-tsin, which certainly would be preferable, as a secure military position. 20*th*.—A telegram has arrived *via* St. Petersburg, saying that the treaty with China has been signed and that the Army evacuated Peking on the 9th November. All the other prisoners not returned had been ill-treated and died from the effects of it. 25*th*.—News has come in of the signature of the Chinese Treaty

[1] Lieut. Anderson, in command of the escort.
[2] Son of the Baroness de Normann. [3] Correspondent of *The Times*.

1860 Æt. 41 and that Mr. Loch and Major Anson are on their way home with it. As far as we can at present judge, the Treaty seems a good one. 28*th*.—Major Anson arrived last night with his despatches. He called upon me this morning in conjunction with Mr. Herbert, and gave us a great many most interesting particulars of everything that has taken place. He gives an excellent account of the general state of efficiency of the force.

1861 *January* 1, 1861.—Thus begins another year, which to my mind always gives rise to reflection and thought. The aspect of the world is not so tranquil as to justify the belief that serious troubles may not take place in the course of the present year, but God's mercy will watch over us. *February* 4.—The Emperor Napoleon's speech has been received on opening the Chambers this day. It is an imprudent speech in my opinion, and not as peaceable as some people are inclined to think.

March 15.—Heard to-night from Albert that bad news had been received from the Duchess of Kent and that the Queen, having been sent for, had gone down to Frogmore at 7 o'c. Later had telegram from Albert, saying they had found the Duchess very ill. 16*th*.—Had telegram from Albert announcing death of Duchess of Kent. She expired this morning at 9.30. 17*th*.—Went to Chapel Royal in the Royal Pew upstairs, where I was told that the Queen had expressed a wish to see us to-day at Windsor. Left Church therefore before the Sermon, and went with Mama and Mary to Windsor. Saw the Queen and Albert. The Queen much affected and greatly overpowered. Altogether the impression we had from the interview was an agreeable one, however melancholy.

Death of the Duchess of Kent

The Duke returned to London the same day.

25*th*.—A very melancholy day on which the dear Duchess of Kent was to be buried. A wet and dreary morning. Left London by special train at 9.25. Met in the Corridor of the Castle, where Albert and the other Princes asked to attend joined us. Then at 11 went to St. George's Chapel, where the ceremony was performed in a most impressive

manner, though as privately as possible. *26th.*—My 42nd birthday! rather a serious day than otherwise when age creeps on. Thank God, however, health and strength are still continued to me, and I have therefore no right to complain, nor do I. How many old recollections are connected with this day; how many happy days, alas! gone by, never to return. I am thankful for those I have enjoyed and for the many blessings which have been vouchsafed to me. My Mother has given me a very handsome bookcase for the rooms downstairs, a second being given me by the Queen. 1861 ÆT. 42

April 21.—Went to St. Paul's Cathedral to attend afternoon service, upon which occasion the whole of the London Rifle Volunteers were present by invitation, and in the presence of the Lord Mayor, the Corporation and the Judges. It was a very fine sight, though the day was dark and cold. The service was well performed, singing good, and not too much of it, glad to say, and the sermon was a very eloquent and good one. *24th.*—Went to War Office to attend meeting about the Forts at Spithead. Palmerston and several of the Ministers present. It was decided they should be built of iron. *26th.*—Went to Harwich and visited the various points in the Harbour we wanted to look at carefully, with a view to improving the works of defence. *June* 5.—Went with Mary to the Horticultural Gardens, which were opened in form by Albert, who was accompanied by all his children and a full Court. We walked around the Grounds in procession; an address was presented to him to which he replied; trees were planted, and we then passed through the new Glass House which looked very beautiful with the various flowers then exhibiting. *July* 10.—Drove to Guildhall to attend a trial of Allen, late Lieutenant 82nd, in which he brings an action against me for illegal imprisonment. They did not call either myself or Lord Clyde, though both were prepared to give evidence, and in spite of the opinions to the contrary the Jury gave Allen £200 damages: a most singular and unwarrantable verdict, very prejudicial to discipline. *20th.*—Dr. Weber recommended me to go to Wiesbaden for my gout, but

1861 Æt. 42

I have a great dislike to it, and shall still try to get off it if possible.

Visit to Rumpenheim

On August 18 His Royal Highness left London for Rumpenheim. 'Found the whole family collected there, all delighted to see me and most amiable in their reception. It is wonderful how little my uncles and aunts and indeed all are changed.' Life at Rumpenheim was of the most simple nature. After an early breakfast came a drive; dinner was at five, and the party went early to bed after a game of lotto or a small family dance.

Diary, August 28.—Had a nice little dance got up by Mary, who sent for two musicians privately, to play for us. All danced, both young and old, and we all enjoyed it extremely and kept it up till half-past twelve.

The Duke left Rumpenheim on September 13 for Brühl to witness the Prussian manœuvres, and returned to London four days later. Of his visit to Brühl he wrote to his mother:

I am very glad to have been there, for one always thus sees and hears much that is interesting. I cannot sufficiently say how amiable and gracious the King was to me, the Queen also, and all the family, my only difficulty was to get away, as all wished me to remain to the end. Wales played his part extremely well, modest and unpretending without being awkwardly shy—of course receiving the highest position there. The reception at Cologne was very fine, the illumination of the Cathedral magnificent. The troops looked very well, and their manœuvres were good, but I think they will still have to change a good deal in their system, for it is not possible in these days to hold by the heavy columns and masses which would lead to too great losses. We had many English officers there, a very nice set, also many French, and among them General Forey, whom I know very well from the Crimea. The Princess Royal was very friendly and dear. She rode at the Manœuvres in wind and rain, for which she did not

seem to care the least. She spoke with me of Louise [1] and Alix,[2] but without referring to anything particular. . . . She said of Alix that she was very lovely, asked much of her mind and heart and character, and I answered her most satisfyingly and satisfactorily. . . . Manchesters and Elchos were at the Manœuvres, the gentlemen in their Volunteer get-up. . . . 1861 ÆT. 42

Diary, October 31.—At 2 went to the Temple to be present at the ceremony of admitting the Prince of Wales as a Bencher of the Society, when he, at the same time, opened the new Library just finished there. The whole thing passed off well, the Prince performing his part with great tact. The Prince of Wales as Bencher

(*From the Queen*)

Windsor Castle, November 16.

I was sure that you would share in the *universal* feeling of sorrow at the untimely end of that dear, excellent and rarely talented young King of Portugal! His loss is *irreparable* for his country, who adored him, and his family! *We* loved him as a son. The warmest friendship existed between him and my dearest Albert, of whom he was a worthy nephew, and we were justly proud of him, and his loss causes us the deepest affliction! To me this has been a new shock, which I little required in this sad year, and during this sad winter, so *unlike* any I have ever spent *here*! For our poor cousin King Ferdinand it is indeed too dreadful to lose 2 sons within 6 days! And we feel also deeply for the present poor young King, who never dreamt of being called to the Throne, and who was totally unprepared for this misfortune. He and his brother arrived on Sunday at Lisbon. The youngest son *is*, I hope, safe now.

Diary, November 28.—The news from America is very warlike. An American Man-of-War has taken by force the Southern Commissioners [3] proceeding to Europe, out The American war cloud

[1] Afterwards Queen of Denmark.
[2] Daughter of Queen Louise, now Queen Alexandra.
[3] Messrs. Mason and Slidell.

1861 Æt. 42

of the English steamer *Trent*. It is a most impertinent proceeding and is very likely to lead to a war with us. Went to Willis's Rooms to preside over a Meeting for a Testimonial to the late Lord Herbert. It was a large and influential Meeting. Palmerston, General Peel, Gladstone, Newcastle, Bishop of Oxford, de Grey, besides myself, spoke. 30*th*.—The Cabinet has decided on the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown that the seizure of the Commissioners was an illegal act. Satisfaction is, therefore, to be demanded and the restoration of the two Commissioners seized. *December* 2.—It appears almost from news from America, that the act was not ordered, but that it will be accepted having been done. Matters therefore look very warlike—these are anxious times and I don't like being away from London. 6*th*.—Matters look very warlike and every preparation is accordingly being made for any emergency which may arise. Our Government is evidently in earnest. Many important decisions were taken, more particularly that the troops should, at all events, be sent at once to Canada.

Illness and death of the Prince Consort

The year had been one of deep gloom for the Queen and the Royal House. It ended in the blackness of despair. On December 8 the country learned through the *Court Circular* that the Prince Consort was confined to his room by a feverish cold, and on the evening of the 14th the melancholy tolling of the great bell of St. Paul's announced to the City that the Prince had breathed his last. The loving circle round the sick bed at Windsor was hardly more prepared for the tragic suddenness of the end than was the country at large, and upon both the catastrophe fell with the stunning force of a swift and sudden blow struck in the dark. Terrible as must have been the loss of the Prince Consort at any time to the Royal Family and to the nation, it was felt more acutely in those dark days at the close of 1861, when our relations with America were strained to the breaking point, and peace and war trembled in the

balance. Truly it might have been said of the Prince Consort as the poet sang of another, 'England hath need of thee,' for when the passions roused by the seizure of the Confederate envoys ran riot, the wise voice of the Prince Consort was one of the few raised in influential places to counsel calmness and forbearance. The story of the last sad days at Windsor is told in a series of letters which Sir Charles Phipps sent to the Duke of Cambridge. 1861 ÆT. 42

Windsor Castle, December 7.— . . . The Queen has directed me to thank your Royal Highness for the letters in which your Royal Highness details the arrangements proposed for reinforcing the Army in Canada of which Her Majesty entirely approved. The Queen is entirely taken up with attendance upon the Prince, who I am sorry to say is not any better, indeed his disorder has again declared itself as a fever of the kind sometimes called Gastric Fever. Symptoms are I am glad to say all favourable, but it is a very tedious disorder, and we must not expect improvement for a fortnight yet. Your Royal Highness knows the Queen well enough to be aware that Her Majesty cannot bear to be alarmed and therefore if your Royal Highness writes to Her Majesty it should be in a cheering tone. I do not think that Her Majesty could at present see anyone, but she is perfectly calm and cheerful.

December 11.— . . . The Prince Consort is not worse, which in His Royal Highness's disorder must be considered as gain, because it leaves him more strength to go through the days of fever that have yet to come. The nights have been very good, for the last three nights, and all the symptoms are favourable. . . . The disease however will have its course and requires great care and anxious watching. The Queen is quite well and keeps very cheerful, looking always at the bright side, but she is constantly, except when she takes a drive, attending the Prince, and if I am to speak sincerely to your Royal Highness would, I think, not be disposed to see anybody at present. The Prince is of course quite unequal to receiving anybody. I believe that the disorder is likely to continue for a week longer, but certainly

1861 Æt. 42 in the last two days His Royal Highness has not lost any ground.

December 13.— . . . Although the Prince had not a good night last night the material symptoms have not, I am assured by the doctors, been prejudicially affected by it, and His Royal Highness is not considered worse than he was yesterday. Every day upon which such a Report can be sent is a day gained, because the remaining days of the fever have a stronger frame to contend with. His Royal Highness maintains his strength wonderfully.

December 13.— . . . Your Royal Highness will believe with what unspeakable grief I have to announce to you that the Prince Consort's illness has taken a very unfavourable appearance, and the doctors are in much and deep anxiety. They are not without fear for the night.

December 14.— . . . The most dreadful event that could, I believe, occur to this country has fallen upon it. My beloved master expired at 10 minutes before 11, so peacefully and tranquilly that it was hardly possible to say when his last breath was drawn. The Queen, the Prince of Wales, and the Princesses, with the Prince and Princess of Leiningen, surrounded the bed and watched the last moments of the best man that I ever met with in my life. The Queen has shewn herself to be possessed of great strength of mind. Overwhelmed, beaten to the ground with grief, her self-control and good sense have been quite wonderful. If aid and support and assistance can be given her by those far below her—how many thousands there are who would give their lives up to such a task. But I am not fit to write to your Royal Highness for my heart is broken—though my feelings at such a time should not be mentioned.

It is now necessary to turn to the Duke's diary :

December 14.—Went to Windsor at 7.15 A.M. Found the Prince had got over the night and was a shade better, but I observed from the countenances of the medical men that they entertained but little hope of real amendment. Saw the Prince of Wales, who had arrived from Cambridge during the night. Did not see the Queen, but saw Alice

who has behaved most beautifully throughout. At one o'clock in the morning was woke with the news that the Prince had expired very quietly at 11 o'clock. 15*th*.—It is impossible to realise as yet the blow that has so suddenly struck us. It is a fearful and awful calamity, and nobody can have any idea of how great the loss must be to the poor dear Queen and to the country. I went to Windsor by 8 o'clock train, arriving soon after 9. Found all at the Castle in an awful state of consternation and despair, though as calm and resigned as it was possible, under the circumstances, to conceive. Saw the Prince, Alice, the Leiningens and Phipps. I attended Prayer in the Chapel at 12, and after that saw the Queen for a moment. I found her fearfully affected, but still able to give vent to her feelings in a profusion of tears. She is behaving nobly in her heavy affliction. 1861 ÆT. 42

(*From Sir Charles Phipps*)

Osborne, December 20.—I have the honour to receive Your Royal Highness's letter, together with its enclosures. I had last night an opportunity of ascertaining from Her Majesty Herself her wishes upon the subject of the firing of minute guns upon Monday next by ships or batteries within hearing of Osborne. The Queen informed me that with all she would have to go through upon that most trying day the sound of those minute guns would be more than she could bear, and Her Majesty therefore commanded me to desire that guns that could be heard at Osborne should not be fired upon that melancholy occasion. Her Majesty would, however, wish that, in countermanding the firing of these guns, the Order should be so worded as to declare that it was to avoid the shock to Her Majesty's feelings that these guns that could be heard at Osborne were silent. The Queen wishes also that an Order should be immediately given that until further orders no guns for practice or other duties should be fired at Portsmouth, or within reach of being heard at Osborne. There has been, unfortunately, constant firing at Portsmouth all this morning, which has annoyed and distressed the Queen

1861 ÆT. 42

dreadfully. Until that commenced Her Majesty was very calm. I merely submit the enclosed for Your Royal Highness's consideration as a suggestion. I have written to the Admiralty.

Enclosure.—In order to avoid the shock that would be occasioned to the Queen's feelings from hearing the minute guns upon Monday next, it is hereby ordered, with Her Majesty's sanction, that no guns shall be fired, by ships or batteries, the report of which could possibly be heard at Osborne.

Osborne, December 21.—I am sure that Your Royal Highness will be glad to learn that the Queen continues in the same calm, composed state, and that her health has not suffered. I dread Monday, but I hope and believe that after that trying day Her Majesty's deep grief will resume the same quiet, unexcited character.

Illness of the Duke of Cambridge

During all these dark days of personal sorrow the Duke of Cambridge was in constant touch with the Cabinet, and shared in all the cares and anxieties occasioned by the state of our relations with America. Overwork and anxiety told their tale, and on December 20 His Royal Highness's health broke down. 'A violent cold has taken hold of the nerves of the face. Gibson and Illingworth have seen me together, and declared it to be a slight case of facial paralysis.'

Diary, December 21.—I consented to see Dr. Fergusson,[1] who came and gave the same opinion as the other medical men, saying that I need be under no anxiety. He said at once that I was not to go to the Funeral. This has annoyed me dreadfully and I still hope to go. I had a blister on my neck after breakfast, and felt very fidgetty and uncomfortable all day. At 6.30 Gibson came to take off the blister. *23rd.*—The medical men came at 8, and with a heavy heart, at their recommendation, I gave up going to the Funeral. . . . Wrote to the Prince of Wales to make my excuses.

[1] Afterwards Sir William Fergusson, 1st Baronet of Spitalhaugh.

Having settled not to go I got more calm and composed in mind. 1861 ÆT. 42

The opinion of the medical men was set forth in the following document :

His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge having determined to attend the funeral of his late Royal Highness at Windsor to-day, we thought it right, in conjunction with Dr. Fergusson, who is absent from town to-day, most strongly to represent to His Royal Highness, that the cold of St. George's Chapel to which he would be exposed during the ceremony might seriously aggravate the cold in the nerves of the face from which he is suffering. His Royal Highness nevertheless continued, until we visited him at 8 o'clock this morning, in his determination to go to Windsor at all hazards, and has only yielded to our renewed representations of the risk that he would incur in doing so.

F. Gibson
H. Stanhope Illingworth.

With kindly consideration, the Prince of Wales, on the day before the funeral, had sent a letter to the Duke regretting his indisposition and saying that he would quite understand the reason of His Royal Highness's absence on the morrow, if unfortunately his illness should prevent him from being present.

Diary, December 25.—Christmas Day ! This is indeed a sad Christmas to me, shut up more or less in a sick room. . . . I read my prayers and a sermon. 29*th*.—The news has come from America of the arrival of our Ultimatum. Nothing decisive yet in reply, but matters look decidedly warlike. 30*th*.—To-day the gout has shown itself in my right foot, but not very badly. The doctors rejoice at it, and *say* I shall be able to do now without another blister for the original malady. I hope it may be so, but for the moment it is decidedly most disagreeable. 31*st*.—The last day of the year, which ends sadly and gloomily enough for me, as I am completely confined to my couch with a violent attack of gout in my right ankle.

1862
ÆT. 42

(*From Sir G. C. Lewis* [1])

Vacant offices

War Office, January 6.—I beg leave to inform Your Royal Highness that it is Her Majesty's wish that you should act as Grand Master of the Order of the Bath until she is able to make a permanent arrangement for filling the office. It is the Queen's intention to appoint the Prince of Wales Grand Master of the Order after His Royal Highness shall have come of age.

(*From Sir C. Phipps*)

Osborne, January 6.—The Queen with a feeling which Your Royal Highness will well understand and appreciate feels an insuperable objection to an immediate filling up of the offices which have by so lamentable a misfortune become vacant. Such a course would be repulsive and intolerable to Her Majesty. But the Queen thinks that it may be satisfactory to Your Royal Highness to learn that it is Her Majesty's intention, whenever the time for such appointment shall come, to offer to Your Royal Highness the Colonelcy of the Grenadier Guards. This is a subject upon which you may well imagine the Queen finds it impossible to write herself, as realising the loss which makes all the rest of her life a blank to Her Majesty.

The American peril

Diary, January 7.—The *Europa* has arrived. We have no answer to our demands, which have been handed in by Lord Lyons, but good accounts from Canada and Nova Scotia. The *Persia* had got up the St. Lawrence; the *Australasia*, after laying to in a snow-storm, had to put back to Halifax. I regret this, as I should have wished both Regiments to have got up. Other troops are beginning to arrive. 9*th.*—News has arrived from America that the Government of the United States has given in, and that Messrs. Mason and Slidell are given up. Thus ends the great *Trent* difficulty, and with it the prospect of war for the present moment. 18*th.*—We heard from Halifax by the *Persia* of the safe arrival of the ship with Scots Fusilier

[1] He succeeded Lord Herbert of Lea as War Secretary.

Guards, about which ship there was a disagreeable report that she had been lost. All the ships are arriving at Halifax in rapid succession and Doyle is doing admirably there. 23*rd*.—Went early to Buckingham Palace to see the Prince of Wales, who is about to start for the East. 24*th*.—Had a meeting at Horse Guards on Indian Army matters with Lord Elgin, who is just going out to India as Governor-General. *February* 6.—Went to Palace to take leave of the Prince of Wales who leaves to-night for the East, where he is to remain till June. 25*th*.—Went with Mary to New Lodge (Monsieur Van de Weyer's place) to pay a visit to Princess Alice, who is staying there for a few days' change of air. I did not find her looking as unwell as I expected, but the change is necessary for her. She was most amiable and affectionate and the visit was a very nice one. *March* 26.—My 43rd birthday! How time passes by and what changes it brings with it. How many thoughts and what a variety of feelings are attached to such an occasion. I have much to be grateful and thankful for, and have in many ways been a most fortunate man, for which I am truly grateful. 31*st*.—Went to Mr. Desanges's to sit for my picture in his great work of the Battle of Inkerman, going to the Exhibition. *April* 8.—Went with Duke of Somerset and large party of professional men to witness some experiments against the Warrior Target with Sir William Armstrong's 300 lb. smooth-bored gun. The experiment was most wonderful and highly satisfactory. At 200 yards' range the gun put four shots through the targets, the two first with 40 lbs. of powder smashing the target only, the two last with a 50 lb. charge going clean through it. Nothing could be more complete or satisfactory and it will have a counteracting effect to that produced by the engagement between the *Merrimac* and the *Monitor* in America. Other experiments against iron plates were further made, but none that came up to the first in interest or importance. Fairbairn's target stood well this time, whereas with the last trials it had failed to resist the 68 or 110 pounder.

1862
ÆT. 42

The Prince of Wales's visit to the East

ÆT. 43

CHAPTER X

PUBLIC DUTIES FOR THE QUEEN—MARRIAGE OF THE PRINCE OF WALES—HOLSTEIN TROUBLES

1862–1866

International Exhibition—Opening by His Royal Highness on behalf of the Queen—Return of the Prince of Wales—Marriage of Princess Alice—A *fête* at Woolwich—Betrothal of the Prince of Wales—The Queen's delight—The cession of the Ionian Islands—Marriage of the Prince of Wales—Wedding festivities—Mr. Gladstone and charitable property—The Congress of Frankfort—His Royal Highness's impressions—Visits and interviews—The Schleswig-Holstein question—Birth of Prince Albert Victor—First shots exchanged between Prussians and Danes—Successes by the allies—Garibaldi's entry into London—The 'Garibaldi fever'—Fall of Dybböl—A Danish success—Prince of Wales and the Literary Fund—The Duke at Cambridge—Lord Russell's declaration of neutrality—General Todleben in England—Dines at Gloucester House—Baptism of Prince George of Wales—Unveiling of statue of the Prince Consort at Coburg—Lord Palmerston's funeral—Death of King Leopold—His Royal Highness starts for Brussels—Funeral of Queen Marie Amélie

1862 Æt. 43

THE lamented death of the Prince Consort imposed upon the Duke of Cambridge new duties and responsibilities. During the last weeks of his life the Prince Consort had been busily engaged in the task of organising another Great International Exhibition which was to be opened in London on May 1, 1862, in a building erected for the purpose at South Kensington. The death of the prime mover in the scheme struck a severe blow at the success of the project, but the arrangements for the opening of the Exhibition were too far advanced to admit of any postponement, and the work went forward. The Exhibition brought to our shores large numbers of distinguished foreigners who were interested directly or indirectly in the success of the undertaking. The Queen in those early days of her bitter

The International Exhibition of 1862

bereavement was in strict seclusion, the Prince of Wales was far away on a journey in the East, and the other children of Her Majesty were too young to undertake the duties of receiving the guests of the nation. Upon the Duke of Cambridge, therefore, devolved the task of opening the Exhibition and entertaining the foreign delegates. 1862 ÆT. 43

Diary, May 1.—The morning opened very unfavourably, with rain and fog, but soon after 8 o'c. began to clear up and ended by being a most lovely day for the great occasion —the hottest sun but no dust. Before breakfast, 9.30, I walked to Buckingham Palace and saw Fritz William,[1] who had come up from Windsor the evening before. Then called on Prince Oscar of Sweden, who is living in Stratton Street. At 12.15 I left my house with two State carriages with State liveries. We drove to Buckingham Palace where the Royal Commissioners met, and picked up the two Royal Princes. From thence we proceeded in procession to the Exhibition Building, up Constitution Hill, down Hyde Park, out at Albert Road and to Cromwell Road, where we set down. The streets were lined by the Life Guards Blue and 5th Lancers, all looking remarkably well. Crowds of people were in the streets. The greatest order and regularity prevailed throughout, and there was much cheering. A procession being formed within the building, we proceeded to the Western Dome, where a Throne was erected, in front of which the Commissioners took their places, I in the centre, with the two Princes right and left of me. 'God save the Queen' having been performed by the great orchestra in the Eastern Dome, Lord Granville, on the part of the Exhibition Commissioners, addressed me, handing me an address to the Queen, and the key of the building, to which I replied, reading an answer prepared by Sir George Grey, as Home Secretary. The procession then went the full length of the nave, one of the Princes on each side of me. Arrived at the Eastern Dome, we took up our position, with our backs to the

[1] Prince of Prussia, afterwards German Crown Prince, and eventually Emperor.

1862 Æt. 43 orchestra, and facing the general public. Here we found assembled in reserved seats, the Royal family, Houses of Parliament, Corps Diplomatique, Civic Authorities, etc. It was a most magnificent sight; the sun shone brightly, and there were about 30,000 persons, all well dressed, in the building. The special music by Meyerbeer, Auber and Sterndale Bennett was then performed, followed by a prayer, which was said by the Bishop of London.[1] We had then the 'Hallelujah Chorus,' which was truly splendid, and then the International Exhibition opened. This was followed by 'God Save the Queen,' after which the procession was re-formed and we went to the Picture Galleries, which are beautifully arranged with excellent light. We then returned to Buckingham Palace in the same order in which we went. The success was complete and everybody appeared pleased. *2nd.*—After breakfast rode to the Exhibition; went over the English Picture Gallery, which is certainly very fine. . . . Gave a great Dinner to the Royal Commissioners. The party consisted of the Prince of Prussia and General Püchler, General Hiller, and Colonel de Ros, Prince Oscar of Sweden and M. de Cronne, Musurus Pasha,[2] Apponyi,[3] Brunnow,[4] Von Brandenburg,[5] Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Chancellor, Duke of Buckingham, Derby, Palmerston, Sydney, Russell, Granville, Mr. Dilke, Fairbairn, Sandford, Jim Macdonald and self. *5th.*— . . . Went to the Exhibition, where met Granville and looked carefully over the Foreign Collection of Pictures, with the several Foreign Commissioners, very much pleased with the French, Dutch and Belgian pictures —particularly the latter, which are quite beautiful—but I think ours shine very much by comparison. . . . *30th.*— Maréchal Canrobert came to see me after breakfast, looking remarkably well. He is over here for only a few days. He stayed with me a long time.

June 12.—Visited the Pasha of Egypt to-day at 12 at Sir Moses Montefiore's House where he is staying. He

[1] Dr. Archibald Campbell Tait.
[2], [3], [4] Turkish, Austrian, and Russian Ambassadors.
[5] Prussian Chargé d'Affaires.

H.M. QUEEN ADELAIDE.

(From a Painting by Winterhalter at Buckingham Palace.)

was in a very good humour and gave me a pipe and coffee. 1862
15*th*.—Saw the Corps of Commissionaires under Captain ÆT. 43
Walter, a most excellent body of valuable old soldiers, who are doing a great deal of good by making themselves generally useful. They seem much respected and are creditable in their appearance and conduct. Much praise is due to Captain Walter for the trouble he has taken with the formation of this valuable Corps and the care and attention with which he looks after them. 17*th*.—The Prince of Wales came to see me, having returned on Saturday night from his trip to the East. He looks particularly well and is grown, and I was charmed with his manner and with all he said.

Return of the Prince of Wales

July 1.—To-day was Alice's wedding day [1]—a dull morning with a great deal of wind. The family breakfasted together at 9, then I walked out and smoked a cigar with Ernest and Augustus Coburg. At one the ceremony took place in the Dining Room, prepared for the occasion. The Queen was present and got through it wonderfully. A good many of the Ministers and other guests came down in the morning from London. The Archbishop of York [2] performed the ceremony. Alice looked very well and was most handsomely dressed, and both she and Louis got through the ceremony well. The Queen was in the room before the rest of the company, including ourselves, entered, and we all left again before she did. The Duke of Coburg gave away the bride. After the ceremony the Royal Family lunched together, the rest of the party in a large tent.

July 11.—At 12.30 went to the Exhibition, accompanied by my 4 A.D.C.'s to distribute the prizes to the Exhibitors, having been requested by the Queen to perform this duty. We went in uniform, and first entered the Horticultural Gardens. There I was received by the Commissioners of the Exhibition and met the foreign personages sent to distribute the prizes to their respective countrymen. Lord

Distribution of prizes at the Exhibition

[1] This marriage took place at Osborne, between Prince Louis of Hesse, Grand Duke of Hesse, who died in March 1892, and Princess Alice Maud Mary, second daughter of Queen Victoria, who died December 14, 1878.

[2] Dr. Charles Thomas Longley.

1862 Æt. 43 Taunton handed to me the award of the jurors, Lord Granville made an address, and I read a reply. The juries then passed in succession. After this was over a procession was formed and we marched all round the building, handing the awards, as we proceeded, to the several Classes. Crowds of people were in the Garden and building, all in the best humour, and we were well received. Several French and foreign military bands had come over for the occasion, and everything passed off with great *éclat*, and undoubted success. On returning to the daïs 'God save the Queen' was performed by the united English Military Bands and the ceremony concluded. 14*th*.—Went down to the Crystal Palace to distribute prizes of the National Rifle Association. A vast number of persons assembled, as many as 20,000. I handed the prizes after they had been read out by Lord Elcho.[1] This being completed, Lord Palmerston addressed the vast assembly in moving a vote of thanks to myself as Chairman. He was most complimentary in his observations. I then replied, and made some remarks of my own, and, Lord Elcho having also spoken, the ceremony ended. Dined at United Service Club, where I was in the Chair, at a great dinner given to the Viceroy of Egypt, who replied to the toast of his health in a few words in French that were well spoken. 16*th*.—Went down to Woolwich to the Viceroy of Egypt's yacht, which was moored off the Arsenal, and on board of which he gave a fête to my mother and sisters and all those whose hospitality he had accepted whilst in England. It was very sad to see so beautiful a fête so much spoiled by the badness of the weather. The after-deck was most tastefully arranged with flowers. The saloon below was extremely handsome. The dinner was a most gorgeous one for about 40 people, in the after-cabin, served in Egyptian style. We had to partake of about 24 of the most peculiar and mixed dishes. He was in excellent humour, and all passed off well. There was a service shown to us, but not used, of the greatest splendour. The whole was inlaid in diamonds and emeralds. After dinner it had cleared up

[1] Ninth and present Earl of Wemyss.

sufficiently for our going on deck, when we smoked with the Viceroy. *22nd.*—To-day was my nephew Adolphus's 14th birthday. I called at St. James's and found they had gone—all of them—to Windsor. Later in the day saw Adolphus and wished him joy of the day. I was delighted to find that the visit to the Queen at Windsor had gone off so well, and that she had given Fritz[1] the Garter, which has delighted him immensely. 1862 ÆT. 43

The Duke of Cambridge left London for Scotland about the middle of August and went direct to Brechin to stay with Lord Dalhousie at his shooting box at Invermark. During his stay there he was joined one day by the Prince of Wales and a party who had ridden up from the Balmoral side to meet His Royal Highness. 'The Prince,' wrote the Duke, 'looked extremely well and seemed in excellent spirits. He is an extremely intelligent and nice young man; his manners charming, and the more I see of him the more I like him.' Before many weeks had passed the news became public of the approaching marriage of the Prince to the Princess Alexandra. The Duke's diary is full of references to the engagement and bears clear witness to the universal joy with which the happy event was heralded. September 12.—'The marriage of the Prince of Wales with Alexandra of Denmark—of which I had been told privately in a letter from the Queen—is now publicly announced. It is a charming marriage.' And again, November 8.—'When I reached home Christian of Denmark[2] came to see me, having just come up from Osborne, where he arrived on Wednesday with dear Alix, all well. He looks very well and in excellent spirits.' As soon as the engagement became known the Duke had hastened to offer his congratulations to Prince Christian, and he received in reply the following letter:

The Prince of Wales's approaching marriage

[1] The late Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz.

[2] Prince Christian of Holstein-Glücksburg, afterwards King of Denmark (1863–1906).

1862 Æt. 43 *Bernstorff, October* 10. — Through the hand of your eldest sister I was pleasantly surprised by so kind and sympathetic a letter from you that I ought at once to have answered and thanked you for it. Unfortunately, I have up to now been hindered from doing so, and am only now that we have returned home able to express to you my warmest and most sincere thanks. Even yet I can still scarce grasp our good fortune, and often ask myself, even now, is it not all a dream, for the dear young man is truly as you say one of the most charming young fellows I have met, while also he seems truly to love our precious child, and she is really much in love with him, and brighter and gayer than I have ever seen her. May God long preserve to these two dear children these feelings for one another, and may they never up to ripe old age have to learn great cares or sorrows. May my dear loved Alix also in its other aspect rightly and conscientiously fulfil her future position, which will not be quite easy, but her chief aim and effort must ever be towards that—to be the best and most loving of wives to her future husband, and at the same time the obedient tender affectionate daughter of his mother the Queen. What a pity it was you were not able to accompany your elder sister Augusta to Cologne. There we all should have so heartily rejoiced to see you, Alix particularly, to meet her beloved favourite Uncle.[1] For the rest I hope very soon to have the pleasure of seeing you in England, since Alix, as you doubtless have already heard, is to go in November to spend a few weeks with the Queen, whither I shall take her, and return to fetch her again. Please give my heartiest greetings and warmest regards to your dear Mother, and to your sister Mary.

In a letter to the Duke dated Schloss Coburg, October 14, the Queen wrote :

Bertie's *Verlobung*[2] promises, as far as we can tell

[1] All the Queen's children called the Duke of Cambridge 'Uncle George.'

[2] Betrothal.

beforehand, to be the source of future happiness to himself and to England, and I fervently pray that God's Blessing may rest upon the dear young couple. . . . 1862 ÆT. 43

. . . Dear Alexandra is lovely, fair, and above all else, sweet and good. Her expression pleased me much, and I am most anxious to get to know her well during the few weeks which she is shortly to pass with me. I shall do *all* I can for her. . . .

Diary, November 9.—This is the Prince of Wales's 21st birthday, a very important day in his life. May he be blessed and happy through life. His approaching marriage is a very happy event.

During the visit of Princess Alexandra to the Queen the Duke went down to Osborne for one night. 'On arrival (November 11) the Queen sent for me at once and I was with her for nearly an hour before dinner. . . . She then dined in company with myself, Alix and Helena and we talked a great deal and remained together till past 10 o'clock. Dear Alix is looking charmingly well and seemed delighted to see me. She appears full of spirits and courage and seems quite happy. It was a very great pleasure to see this.'

Diary, December 16.—It has been decided to give up the Ionian Islands to Greece on the formation of the new Kingdom of Greece.[1] I regret this extremely, and think

The cession of the Ionian Islands

[1] The question of the Ionian Islands had for some time been exercising the minds of British statesmen. Nominally a republic, the islands had, in fact, under the protectorate of Great Britain, little but the shadow of power, and the burning zeal of the islanders for union with Greece manifested itself in a steady opposition to British rule and governance. To inquire into the causes of discontent, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, the Colonial Secretary, despatched Mr. Gladstone to the Septinsular Republic, in 1858, as Lord High Commissioner Extraordinary. Everywhere in the islands Mr. Gladstone was received with open arms as the man who was to deliver the people from the detested protectorate, and it was entirely in vain that he protested that he came not to upset but to place on a firmer basis the existing *régime*. The result of Mr. Gladstone's mission was that the discontent of the islanders became more intense, and their agitation more vehement, and that the British Government was glad to

1862 Æt. 43 the abandoning Corfu a gross political mistake. It has taken everybody very much by surprise. It is said that King Ferdinand of Portugal, to whom the Crown of Greece has been offered by the three Great Powers, has declined the offer. Meanwhile Alfred [1] has been unanimously elected King, which is to be refused.

1863 *February* 4, 1863.—Attended the Prince of Wales when he took his seat in the House of Lords. We were in uniform; the house was crowded and the whole thing passed off very well. After returning home to change our dress, the Prince went again with me to the House, and sat out the debate till 9.30. The subject was as regards the cession of the Ionian Islands to the new Kingdom of Greece, which Lord Derby greatly condemned. *8th.*—Went to Chapel Royal with Prince of Wales, who was there for the first time. *25th.*—Went to the Horse Guards to deliver the Field Marshals' Bâtons to Lords Gough and Clyde. Afterwards to the Levee, held for the first time for the Queen by the Prince of Wales. He did it remarkably well, upwards of 3,000 persons were presented. It lasted till 5.15, and I was dead tired from standing so long after my bad attack of gout. Went

take the first opportunity of receding gracefully from a position which, in the opinion of many, had already become intolerable. That opportunity came with the reconstruction of the kingdom of Greece under a prince of the House of Denmark after the fall of King Otho. It must not be thought that the Duke's was the only voice which was raised against the cession of the Ionian Islands. To the minds of many of the foremost politicians the step was a 'gross political mistake,' but for the moment the new policy held the field, and criticism was powerless to alter its decrees. The reasons which governed the Duke's opinions are not far to seek. The political value of the protectorate to Great Britain was indisputable, and with the Duke the welfare and prestige of his country were ever the first consideration. But there was another side to the shield. He had visited the islands and he had visited Greece, and he was well aware that under the *ægis* of Great Britain the islanders enjoyed material advantages of good government and economical administration which they could not hope to secure in the new political connection. That they should abandon these tangible realities for visionary ideas of race union and larger liberty appeared to his practical mind at once impolitic and irrational.

[1] Prince Alfred, afterwards Duke of Saxe-Coburg, was the first choice of the people, but, for reasons which will be sufficiently obvious, he was unable to accede to the request.

thence direct to Chelsea to present the Field Marshal's Bâton to Sir Edward Blakeney, who was much gratified by the compliment paid to him. 1863 ÆT. 43

March 7.—This was indeed a great day for old England. It was the day of arrival of Alexandra and her parents, and the solemn entrance of the Prince of Wales and his bride into London. The morning was fine with a prospect of so continuing. I was busy all the morning. At 12 o'clock I left on horseback, and in uniform, with Tyrwhitt and Clifton, and we rode to the Bricklayers' Arms to be ready to receive the young couple on their arrival. Crowds of people were in all the streets. We got there without difficulty. The arrangements were excellent, the Station tastefully decorated. I was there at one, and exactly at 1.40 the Royal train arrived, and the young couple alighted looking very happy, Alix in great beauty. After a hearty welcome and after taking some refreshments, the procession started exactly at 2 o'clock in good order. A sharp shower came on just as they left the Station Yard, but it did not last many minutes. I then rode home, and at 3.30 again mounted and rode through the streets as far as Waterloo Place. The whole line looked magnificent, crowds of people in excellent humour, the houses tastefully decorated. The streets were kept by the Police and Cavalry combined. I was most cordially received along the entire route. The procession did not reach Hyde Park till about 4.30. The crowds in the City had been so dense and the City authorities had managed so badly that the procession could not get through for a long time. At last they came, the enthusiasm tremendous all along the route. I rode by the carriage through the line of Volunteers, 17,000 stationed in the Park, and continued to accompany them up to the Paddington Station, which they left at 5.15. It then came on to rain heavily and we got home in the wet about 6 o'clock. Altogether nothing could have been more magnificent than the public ovation they received and they must have been greatly gratified. Everybody seems to have been delighted with the appearance and pleasing manners of the bride, who has won all hearts. Marriage of the Prince of Wales

1863 ÆT. 43 *9th.*—Left for Windsor at 3.15. On arrival there settled the military arrangements for the following day. Gave my bracelet as a wedding present to Alix with which she was much pleased, and at last dined at 7.30 in S. George's Hall, a party of 109, very handsome and well done. After dinner there were fireworks in the lower portion of the Home Park. *10th.*—The Wedding Day. The morning was fine, though a little foggy. We all breakfasted together at 9, the Danes in their own rooms. I then walked out a short time, saw that all the military arrangements were properly carried out : then saw the Queen in Louisa's room, who was looking very well, and then dressed for the ceremony. The foreign princes started at 11.30, the Bridegroom at 12, and the Bride at 12.15. I drove down in the same carriage with the Bride and her Father, and was one of her supporters. She looked perfectly lovely, and did the whole thing with an immense amount of grace and with a peculiar charm which won all hearts. The arrangements in the Chapel were admirable. The whole ceremony passed off most beautifully, and most successfully. Everybody seemed pleased and gratified. The Queen was in the Royal Closet, but was seen by all. The Prince of Wales performed his part with infinite dignity and grace. The Knights of the Garter in their robes and stars looked most dignified and noble. We returned to the Castle in procession by half-past one o'clock, when we first congratulated the Queen and married couple, and then all proceeded to sign the Marriage Register, which lasted some time. Then there was a luncheon for the Royal Family and a large one for the company in the State Apartments. At 3.30 the young pair started for Osborne, looking supremely happy. Left Windsor at 5.30 by special train. Had dinner at home, and went out afterwards to see illuminations, but saw really nothing. Was three hours going round by Bond Street, Oxford Street and through Marble Arch. However started off again at 1 o'clock in the morning as far as Trafalgar Square to see the National Gallery lighted up, which was certainly very fine ; also to see Poole's the Tailor's, which was excellent.

My own illuminations were most creditable. Home at 2.30. *20th.*—Received a visit from the Prince and Princess of Wales who have come up to town to-day. She looked most charming and both looked supremely happy. Having shown them the whole of my house they left me. . . . Attended a full-dress reception at St. James's Palace at which the 'Society' were introduced to the Prince and Princess. She looked quite lovely and was most charming in her manner to all. *26th.*—My 44th birthday. The Queen wrote to me most kindly and has given me an excellent picture of poor Albert, a copy of Winterhalter's picture. 1863 Æt. 43 Æt. 44

April 24.—Went to Windsor for the night. On arrival at the Castle the Queen walked me down to the Mausoleum at Frogmore and showed me the interior and the recumbent figure of Albert by Marochetti, which is certainly very fine. Altogether I think it will be a fine thing when finished. She also showed me the Mausoleum of the Duchess of Kent. From there we went into Frogmore House, which is kept up as if it were lived in. *27th.*—Went down to Windsor to attend the Christening of Alice's[1] little girl.[2] . . . A German clergyman from Darmstadt performed the ceremony, supported by Mr. Walbaum.[3] *May* 1.—Dined at Marlborough House. The Prince and Princess' first dinner party. *2nd.*—The Royal Academy Dinner. The Prince of Wales and Louis of Hesse made their maiden speeches and did so exceedingly well. *4th.*—Accompanied a deputation to the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the subject of putting the Income Tax on Charitable Property. It was a very large deputation. I had to address the Chancellor on the part of Christ's Hospital. He replied, and was evidently not pleased at the great opposition raised to this plan. I was accompanied by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, Bishop of London, Lord Shaftesbury and many more. *6th.*—Mr. Gladstone having on Monday last brought forward his proposals for putting the Income Tax on Charities, and having made a long speech in favour of

Mr. Gladstone and charitable property

[1] Princess Alice of Hesse-Darmstadt.
[2] Afterwards Princess Louis of Battenberg.
[3] Pastor at the German Chapel, St. James's Palace.

1863 ÆT. 44 his measure, was compelled to withdraw his resolution without going to a division, in consequence of the great opposition which met his proposal from all quarters.

8th.—Gave my first dinner to the Prince and Princess of Wales. I had to meet them Mama, Mary, Lady Geraldine, Derbys, Hardwickes, Grosvenors, De Greys, St. Albans, Newcastle, Granville, Hartington, Peel, Lady Macclesfield, in waiting, Teesdale, Jim and self. It went off remarkably well and they seemed much pleased. *16th.*—Attended the Drawing Room held by Alix for the Queen. It was enormously full. 1,900 ladies presented, and it lasted till 6 o'clock. We were all dreadfully tired. *June* 8.—Went in State to the City to the Ball given to the Prince and Princess of Wales. It was a really magnificent fête and well organized in every respect. Dancing went on till 11.30, when there was a sit-down supper, all very well done and in good style. *11th.*—Drove to Claremont to be present at the breakfast given in honour of the Duc de Chartres' marriage with the daughter of the Prince de Joinville. All the Royal family of France were assembled there and a large number of French supporters and friends of the Orléans family. Queen Amélie was present, looking remarkably well. The young couple looked very happy. The Prince and Princess of Wales were also present. At 6 went to Merchant Taylors' Hall to be present when the Prince received his freedom of the Company, after which there was a large and handsome dinner. *26th.*—Went to the Guards' Ball in uniform as a Guardsman. It was a magnificent fête, given at the Exhibition Building. About 2,000 persons were invited to meet the Prince and Princess of Wales. Nothing could have gone off better and it was a great success. I opened the ball with Alix. *30th.*—Lord Derby brought forward the case of the Ionian Islands and objected to their cession to Greece in an excellent speech, feebly answered by Lord Russell. *July* 1.—My Mother gave a breakfast to-day at Kew. Alix's not going was a very sad disappointment to my Mother and Mary. The breakfast or rather dinner was charmingly arranged in a tent room that had been fitted up in the

garden. We dined 75 persons—an excellent dinner—and danced in the Drawing Room. The garden was illuminated. It was altogether a most successful fête and admirably done. 1863 ÆT. 44

The Congress of Frankfort

In the autumn of 1863 was held the Congress of the German princes whom the Emperor of Austria summoned to Frankfort to determine upon a scheme of reform for their common country. Though nearly all responded to the invitation it cannot be said that the Congress was productive of any far-reaching results. One chair at the round table was left empty. The King of Prussia refused to attend, and without the sincere sympathy and the loyal support of Prussia the Princes could accomplish little. To discover the reason for the abstention of Prussia, it is only necessary to remember that Bismarck was now in control of the destinies of Prussian foreign policy, and that one of his most cherished objects was the determination of the long struggle for supremacy in Germany between the House of Hohenzollern and the House of Hapsburg. In prevailing upon the King of Prussia to withhold his support from the Conference convened by Austria, Bismarck saw that he was striking no light blow at the supremacy of the House of Hapsburg, and paving the way for the great contest which was to come some three years later. The Duke of Cambridge, who had left London on August 12 and travelled by easy stages to Rumpenheim, was brought into close contact with the Frankfort Congress, for the Château of his Hessian relations was no further from Frankfort than Kew is from London, and the Duke was able to make daily excursions to the scene of the meeting. Of the impressions which he gathered he has left an interesting account in his diary.

August 15.—Went in to Frankfort soon after 12. . . . Called on Sir Alexander Malet.[1] Dined with Fritz Wilhelm,[2]

[1] Our Minister to the Bund.

[2] Prince of Hesse, and the Duke's cousin.

1863 Ær. 44 Herr von der Lühe [1] and Clifton.[2] Saw the entrance of the Emperor (of Austria) into Frankfort at 6 o'cl., from a house on the Rossmarkt, belonging to Mrs. Koch, our Consul's sister-in-law. The day magnificent, numbers in the streets. The Emperor was in a carriage with a pair of horses, very simple. Several of the other Princes followed soon after. Frankfort looked very smart, the German National Flag waving in all directions. We did not get back to Rumpenheim till about 10 o'clock. I saw the Duke of Brunswick, who was looking remarkably well and in good spirits. 16*th*.—After church drove into Frankfort at 12. . . . Called on several of the Princes, including the King of Hanover, with whom I sat for a long time and who was most amiable and affectionate, and is looking particularly well. . . . Saw dear Alice with Louis of Hesse and was introduced to the Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt. Saw all the Princes returning from a great dinner given by the Emperor of Austria ; most of them had their own equipage ; it was a very interesting sight. All are here, with the exception of the King of Prussia. Back at Rumpenheim at 10. 17*th*.—Went again early in to Frankfort. . . . Sat for some time with the King of Hanover, saw also Prince Henry of the Netherlands. Dined at 4 at the Hotel with Fritz Hessen, Adolphus [3] and Clifton. At 5 went to a house opposite the Römer Saal to see the Emperor and Princes arrive there for the great dinner given by the town of Frankfort to the Allied Princes. It was an interesting sight. Besides all the Rumpenheim party, Alice and Louis were with us, also the wife of Prince Alexander of Hesse. From thence we went to M. Koch's house, where we had tea, and later drove to a Villa on the Main to see the Grand Fireworks prepared for the occasion by the Town of Frankfort ; it was a most successful fête and the fireworks were good. We did not get home till past 12. The Princes met to-day, for the first time. The Emperor [4] addressed them in a speech he read, and

[1] The Equerry of his sister the Grand Duchess.
[2] Equerry of the Duke.
[3] The Hereditary Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz.
[4] Of Austria.

formally laid before them the proposals of Reform which he advocated. A proposal was then made to send a joint invitation to the King of Prussia to join them, such invitation to be carried by the King of Saxony in person,—the King to be the bearer of a letter signed by every member of the Confederation. Thus the matter stands at present. I saw Granville yesterday on his way through. To-day I saw Clarendon, who has been requested by Lord Russell to come over and remain at Frankfort for a few days to watch the course of events. 18*th.*—Went in to Frankfort at 4, to dine with the King of Hanover at 5. He lives at the Hôtel de Russie. He was in excellent spirits and talked a great deal of old times. Clarendon was of the party. After dinner sat with the King and Charles Solms for some time. Called on the Elector (of Hesse) who was not at home, and returned to Rumpenheim by 9 o'clock. Several of the Princes had come out (to Rumpenheim) to tea and to pay visits to the family. 19*th.*—Drove in to Frankfort at 2, direct to the English Legation, where I saw Apponyi; dressed and dined at 4, with the Emperor. He is a charming person; such excellent manners, and a beautiful figure. I never saw anybody so much improved in every respect. The King of Holland dined there, very amiable to me. The Emperor seems remarkably well disposed to the English alliance. We had a very large party, chiefly the Ministers of all the German Princes. I wore the English Uniform. After dinner drove to the Embassy and had a long talk with Clarendon. At 8 went to the Opera, given by the Town of Frankfort to the Emperor and Princes. Everybody was in full uniform, but the Theatre is small and not pretty, so the effect was nothing extraordinary. Patti sang well, in the *Barbière*, the others were bad.

1863
ÆT. 44

20*th.*—To-day at 12 the Emperor arrived (at Rumpenheim) to pay a visit to the whole family. The more I see of him the more I like him, his manners are excellent, and he is prudent, and full of thought in all he says. He remained till near 2. . . . At 6 the King of Bavaria came (Maximilian), also a most amiable man, but not good looking.

1863 Æt. 44 We were again all in uniform—which is rather troublesome, requiring constant change of dress. He stayed till 8. *21st.*—I drove in to Frankfort in good time, about 12, and had a long interview with the Duke of Coburg, whom I found most reasonable and rational, then called on Clarendon for a long time, then went to the Duke of Meiningen, who is very sensible in his views. Dined at the Hotel with Fritz Hessen at 4, and at 6.30, having dressed in uniform, went by special train to Darmstadt with the King of Hanover and most of the Princes, to attend the Theatre, which was specially got up for the occasion. The Opera given was *La Reine de Saba* by Gounod, a new opera and very fine, but rather heavy and long, being in five acts. We had supper in the entr'acte, and did not get back to Frankfort till 12, and to Rumpenheim till 1, very tired indeed! *22nd.*—At 8 P.M. we drove in to Frankfort to attend the Ball given by Monsieur Bethmann the Banker to the Emperor and assembled Sovereigns. The house is a good one, but hardly large enough for the occasion. The heat was very great. We managed to get home by 12 o'cl. *23rd.*—After church in the morning . . . at 3 drove in to Frankfort, called on Malet, dressed in Hanoverian uniform, and dined with the King of Hanover, a family party of all the Rumpenheim people. . . . After dinner I saw the King alone, also the Dukes of Brunswick and Nassau. I am afraid things are not going very well. The Kings are making difficulties, assert their position in the new Directory, and I fear may complicate matters. It is not good to hold so many private meetings, and the long delays that occur are most objectionable. I have endeavoured to give the King as much good advice as possible. *24th.*—Drove to Frankfort and started by train for Darmstadt at 2.45; arrived there about 3.30. Found Alice and Louis at the Station, waiting to receive me, and drove with them to their country house in the Park, a very nice old place which they have managed to make very comfortable. We dined at once, at 4, and then they showed me their present town house, which is very small, and the one that they are building, which will be a large and good building. Afterwards we drove

in the Forest, or Park, till it was dark. The Forest is beautiful, full of Wild Boars and Red Deer, of both of which we saw a good many. We had tea at 8, after which they again accompanied me to the train and I left, much pleased with my visit, by the 9.20 train, reaching Frankfort at 10 and Rumpenheim before 11. *26th.*—This was poor Albert's Birthday! I wrote to the Queen. . . . Went into town at 1 o'cl. Paid several visits. Dined at the Hôtel de Russie with Fritz Hessen, Alexander of Hesse-Darmstadt, Count Waldstein, Clifton, and Steuber, at 4, and then went to the Circus of Monsieur Henné, an excellent Company, very well done, and it was crowded. Returned to Rumpenheim at 10.30. *27th.*—In to Frankfort about 1. Called on the King of Hanover, who desired me to stay for dinner, at 3, which I did. Then accompanied Fritz Mecklenburg to the Darmstadt railroad. Most of the Sovereigns and some of the Rumpenheim party went to the Opera at Darmstadt. I was glad of an excuse not to go, as it was awfully hot, and returned to Rumpenheim. *30th.*—Went to Frankfort for the English Service at 11. Then made some calls. Saw the Duke of Nassau. Matters do not seem to be going so smoothly at the Congress, and it is high time that it should come to an end! . . . The Elector (of Hesse) and Schwerin (Grand-Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin) came to dinner (at Rumpenheim). *September* 1.—At 4 drove in to dinner with the King of Hanover, with Frederick of Hesse, and the Gentlemen. Took leave of the King, who was very kind—he starts to-morrow morning. The Conferences are over. The last meeting took place to-day, and passed off better than was expected. All signed the resolution come to, excepting Baden, Schwerin, Weimar, Altenburg, and Waldeck. Altogether the result is not without hope for the future of Germany. 1863 ÆT. 44

The Schleswig-Holstein question

Barely had the Duke of Cambridge returned to London when a new convulsion shook northern Europe. The question of the political *status* of the Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein and Lauenburg had long been an apple of discord among the Powers most nearly concerned. Linked with

1863 ÆT. 44

Denmark by the bond of a common crown, the Duchies were distinct and separate States, and their population was to a large extent of German nationality. Any efforts, then, which the King of Denmark might make to bind the Duchies more closely to his Throne were deeply resented by the Germans, who saw in the racial kinship of the inhabitants with themselves a sufficient reason for bringing the Duchies into the Teutonic Confederation. The question was further complicated at this time by the succession to the Danish Throne. While in Denmark the Crown could descend by the female line, in the Duchies the descent was limited to the male line. As Frederick VII., the King of Denmark, had no direct heir, the Great Powers, who had no wish to see the *status quo* upset and the Duchies divided from Denmark, met in conference, and after arranging that the Duke of Augustenburg, the next heir to the Duchies, should renounce his rights, settled the succession upon Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg, the father of the present Queen. Into the successive steps which led to the final breach between Denmark and Germany it is not necessary here to enter. It will suffice to say that when, after the death of Frederick VII. and the accession of King Christian, Prince Frederick of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg disregarded the pact which his father, the Duke of Augustenburg, had made, and claimed the succession to the Duchies, he found that the German Confederation, which had not been a party to the Conference of the Powers, was quite ready to embrace his cause, or rather to take advantage of it to strike a blow at Denmark. In the events which followed, Prussia (under the guidance of Bismarck) and Austria played the leading parts. The occupation of Holstein was followed by the invasion of Schleswig, and Denmark found herself pitted against the combined power of Prussia and Austria. Throughout the short struggle which she made against

overwhelming odds, there is no doubt that she continued to hope for foreign intervention, and especially for English help. Had not Lord Palmerston said in the House of Commons that, if any violent attempt were made to overthrow the rights and interfere with the independence of Denmark, those who made the attempt would find in the result that it would not be Denmark alone with which they would have to contend? And were not the people of England known to be eager to fight the battles of the weak against the strong and to embrace the cause of the King whose gracious daughter had won all hearts as Princess of Wales? But British sympathy was not to be translated into active assistance. If Lord Palmerston had been unanimously supported by his Cabinet, if he had found the Emperor of the French willing to co-operate with him, and if the Queen had not been averse from war, the Duchies might have been saved for Denmark. But the Cabinet hesitated, the Emperor Napoleon refused to interfere, and the Queen saw clearly, more clearly perhaps than any other at the time, the strength of the forces which were making for German unity. All that the Government could do was to attempt to put an end to hostilities. A Conference met in London, but it proved unavailing, and when Denmark afterwards made peace on her own initiative it was at the cost of the Duchies. This brief note will serve to introduce the references which the Duke of Cambridge makes to the question in his diary. 1863 ÆT. 44

November 16.—Heard to-day of the unexpected death of the King of Denmark from an attack of erysipelas in the face. It is a very serious and important event at this moment, but I cannot regret it for Christian's and Louise's sake. 20*th*.—The accounts from Holstein are not satisfactory for Denmark. The feeling is strong in that country. The Duke of Augustenburg has claimed the succession to Schleswig-Holstein and Lauenburg, and has been recognized

1863 ÆT. 44 by the Duke of Coburg and other small German Sovereigns. It is a great complication and matters look serious. *December* 31.—The last day of a very eventful year. The new one forebodes much mischief and sorrow. May it turn out better than it looks!

1864 *January* 1, 1864.—New Year's Day! God grant that the New Year may bring with it blessings for all those most near and dear to me. At present matters look very serious, and it looks very much as if we were drifting into a war. The accounts from Holstein and Schleswig are extremely bad. The Germans seem to have gone perfectly mad on the subject, and nothing will restrain their violence. Holstein is now nearly occupied by the Germans, and they are now calling for an occupation of Schleswig. *3rd.*—The Holstein difficulties are very great. There was a Cabinet about it yesterday, but I have not heard what decision was come to. *10th.*—Went to Windsor to see the Prince of Wales at Frogmore, and found him very delighted at being the father of a charming little boy.[1] I saw the baby, which has a nice little countenance with very decided and marked features. *31st.*—The Austrians and Prussians are rapidly bringing their forces together on the Eider, and it appears to me that war is now next to certain, for the Danes will oppose the advance of the German troops and these seem determined to proceed in their determination to occupy Schleswig. *February* 1.—Have heard to-day of the first shots having been exchanged between the Prussians and Danes. Thus this lamentable war has now commenced. How will it end? The Prussians, it appears, attacked the Danes at Missunde, but after a cannonade of some hours were unable to advance. *5th.*—I confess I think matters look as ill as possible for Denmark. We heard to-night that the Prussians had crossed the Schlei, below Missunde, by means of 300 fishing boats, that thereupon the Danes had abandoned the Dannewerke, leaving all their heavy guns and were in full retreat hotly pursued by Austrians and Prussians. Though foreseen, this has cast a gloom over everybody. What will now happen it is difficult

Birth of Prince Albert Victor

[1] Prince Albert Victor, died 1892.

to tell, but the Duchies seem to me to be lost to the Danes. 1864
8*th*.—The Danes are severely pressed by the Allies. I doubt ÆT. 44
very much their making good their retreat to the Island of Alsen. In that case the Danish Army would be lost. 9*th*.—It appears probable to-day that the Danes will succeed in reaching Alsen, for which object they seem to have fought most gallantly both at Oversee and Flensburg, at which places the Austrians have lost heavily. 10*th*.—Things generally look bad and the German Powers seem disposed to abandon the treaty of 1852. 12*th*.—The Austrians and Prussians have, I hear, refused an armistice, suggested by England, France, Russia and Sweden. This looks bad.

March 10.—The Christening of the Prince Albert Victor at Buckingham Palace. I represented my Uncle, the Landgrave of Hesse, as Sponsor. 14*th*.—Went to Mr. Maguire's the painter, to have a last sitting for my picture for the Artillery Mess. 19*th*.—The operations against Dybböl have begun, but as yet without any serious effect, though some loss of life on both sides. The Danes at present object to an Armistice.

April 8.—Went to Southend to see the Shooting at ÆT. 45
Shoeburyness with the experimental guns of Sir W. Armstrong and Mr. Whitworth. All the guns we saw tried seem to be admirable in their way, and leave but little to choose between them. We also saw one shot fired from the 600 lbs. at 200 yards range, the target being composed of 25 inches, $7\frac{1}{2}$ of which were Iron. The result was most interesting and astounding, the shot passing clean through the target with but little injury to the projectile, which dropped on the other side of it upon passing through. 11*th*.—This afternoon Garibaldi made his entry Garibaldi in London
into London. There were crowds of people and great enthusiasm. It is really too ridiculous the way that people behave, and very disgusting, so I think. 12*th*.—Went down to Woolwich to attend the funeral of poor Bingham, a very imposing ceremony. It was a military funeral and attended by every officer of the Garrison and by many Artillery officers from other Stations. The feeling of deep regret

1864 Æt. 45 and sorrow is most general. 13*th*.—The ridiculous fuss that is being made with Garibaldi is truly melancholy, and will, I fear, have very ill effects as regards our relations with the Continental Powers. 16*th*.—The Garibaldi fever still rages as at first. To-day he was at the Crystal Palace, and dines with Lord Palmerston. This is quite deplorable. 19*th*.—We heard to-day of the fall of Dybböl after an assault which took place yesterday. This is a very sad bit of intelligence and very unfavourable, I fear, to the poor Danes. 21*st*.—When in House of Lords, during a sitting, General Garibaldi arrived. He has a good countenance, but his dress, a red shirt with grey mantle over it, is so peculiar that it gives him a most eccentric look. The sort of regal manner in which he is treated by everybody seems to me to be too ridiculous. 27*th*.—The Conference met on Monday, but nothing was done and the Ministers are now all waiting for instructions relative to an Armistice. We have now got an account of the Storm of Dybböl. The Danes must have lost in all upwards of 5,000 men, of which more than 3,000 prisoners. It is a melancholy and sad affair. It is much to be deplored that they did not withdraw into the Island of Alsen when Dybböl had become untenable. Orders from Copenhagen prevented this. 30*th*.—The Conference has not met again, nor does it appear at all clear when it will re-assemble. Meanwhile Fredericia has been evacuated by the Danes, and the Germans are occupying the whole of Jutland. Where it is all to end God only knows.

May 10.—There has been a naval engagement between the Austrians and Danes at the mouth of the Elbe in which the Danes had the best of it, and the Austrians had to retire under the protection of Heligoland. This news has been received here with great satisfaction. An armistice has been agreed upon by the Conference for one month, commencing from the 12th. 18*th*.—Attended a public dinner at St. James's Hall for the Literary Fund, over which the Prince of Wales presided. His first appearance in the Chair at a public dinner. He officiated most admirably as Chairman, and did it remarkably well, speaking without

any difficulty. Everybody was quite delighted with his success. *23rd.*—It appears now the general impression that Holstein, the Southern portions of Schleswig, and Lauenburg are to be severed from Denmark, but to whom they are to be given seems quite doubtful. *30th.*—Drove down to Claremont for the breakfast after the wedding of the Comte de Paris with his cousin, the daughter of the Duc de Montpensier. The old Queen Amélie looked wonderfully well and she gave the young couple's health. 1864 ÆT. 45

Honour from the University of Cambridge

On June 2 the Duke went to Cambridge where His Royal Highness was made LL.D. at the same time as the Prince of Wales. After dining with the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Cookson, at Peterhouse, he witnessed some private theatricals by the undergraduates, and then went on to a Ball at the Fitzwilliam Museum. The next day he spent in sight-seeing, and returned to London on the 4th.

Diary, June 27.—In House of Lords Lord Russell made his Statement on the Conferences and their failure ; also the decision of the English Government to maintain their neutrality. It was a painful speech to make for an English Minister, and was received with a depressed feeling by the House of Lords.

July 4.—Went to the London Hospital to receive the Prince and Princess of Wales, the former of whom laid the foundation stone for the new wing of the Hospital. After the ceremony they went into one or two of the wards and then proceeded to a large marquee where there was a luncheon. I presided. The collection was enormous, amounting to upwards of £30,000.

General Todleben visits England

General Todleben, the distinguished defender of Sevastopol, paid a visit to England in the autumn of 1864, and under the Duke's hospitable roof he met in friendly intercourse Sir John Burgoyne, Sir Richard Airey, and many other officers against whom he had fought so gallantly ten years before.

1864 Æt. 45 *Diary, October* 28.—In the evening gave a dinner to General de Todleben, the distinguished General of Russian Engineers, to whom the defence of Sevastopol is due. He is a most agreeable and intelligent man, full of interesting conversation, and of extremely good manners. He is come to pay a visit to this country, having not as yet been in England. He is a young man for his high position in the Russian Army. . . . He made himself most agreeable and it was a very pleasant party. He is going to Portsmouth, Plymouth, etc., and proposes to see all our military establishments. *November* 21.—General Todleben called to see me and take leave. He seems charmed with England. He is a most agreeable man. He dined with me—the Duchess my Mother, Lady Westmorland, Lady Geraldine, Brunnow,[1] General Todleben, Burgoyne, Fred Paulet, Colonel Purvis, Chapman, Blakeney, and Jim Macdonald.[2]

General Todleben was indeed charmed with his visit to England, and before he left our shores he placed on record his gratitude to the Duke for all his kindness in the following letter :

Before my departure I hold it a pleasing duty to lay at Your Royal Highness's feet my warmest and most earnest thanks for the great favour and grace with which you have gratified me personally, as also for your exceptionally kind authorisation to see all great military progress and advances. Your photograph and your precious lines I will have preserved in my family for evermore as precious souvenirs of your especial favour. In the short time I have been in England I have seen so much that is instructive and most interesting, have been on all sides received with such rare amiability and open hospitality, that almost unconsciously the wish arises ardently within me at the earliest possible opportunity to return again to England for a more lengthened sojourn.

[1] Count Brunnow, Russian Ambassador.

[2] It is of interest to record the fact that at this dinner General Todleben sat between Lady Westmorland and Lady Geraldine Somerset, sister-in-law and niece respectively of Lord Raglan, his old opponent in the Crimea.

1865 ÆT. 45

Diary, March 15, 1865.—Went to the Free Masons' Tavern to take the chair at the Festival dinner of Royal Society of Musicians. Mr. Gladstone was present and made a most eloquent speech. *April* 4.—To the Speaker's Stairs, whence I embarked on a River boat with Bertie [1] and Alfred [2] and went down with the Members of the Board of Works, to open the new main drainage below Woolwich. *July* 7.—Went to Windsor by special train to attend the Christening of the little baby of the Wales's, who is to be called George, the King of Hanover and myself being his godfathers. The child behaved very well and was very good.

ÆT. 46

Christening of Prince George

During an autumn visit to Rumpenheim the Duke went over to Coburg for the unveiling of the statue of the Prince Consort. 'Drove in uniform (August 26) to the Market Place, where the statue of the Prince Consort is placed. The ceremony was short but impressive, and went off remarkably well. The Queen got through it wonderfully, though it was very affecting for her. She, with her younger children, came direct from the Rosenau in her own carriage, and we drove in procession from the Castle. The Burgomaster made a very good address.'

Lord Palmerston's funeral

Diary, London, October 27.—Attended Lord Palmerston's funeral in Westminster Abbey as one of the mourners from Cambridge House, and drove in a mourning coach with the Archbishop of Canterbury [3] and the Speaker.[4] The grief and mourning very general. Thus has been deposited in the grave one of England's greatest statesmen, a man thoroughly an Englishman, and one who appreciated the feelings and interests of the country better than any other living man.

Death and funeral of King Leopold

On December 14, while he was on a visit to Waresley Park, the Duke received a telegram from the Prince of Wales, asking in the Queen's name if he was going to the

[1] Prince of Wales, now King Edward VII.
[2] Duke of Edinburgh.
[3] Dr. Charles Thomas Longley.
[4] Mr. J. Evelyn Denison, afterwards created Viscount Ossington.

1865 Æt. 46 funeral of King Leopold I., who had died on the 10th ('a very melancholy event and a great loss to Europe'). His Royal Highness hurried to London on the following day and 'found on returning home that it was the Queen's wish that I should go to Brussels. Consequently left that evening by train, with Tyrwhitt, for Dover, where I embarked for Calais, leaving that same night for Brussels.'

Diary, December 16.—On reaching Brussels at 9 A.M. was met at the Station by an Orderly Officer, who told me we were expected to be dressed and ready for the ceremony at 10. Had only just time to go to the Hôtel de Belle Vue, where I am put up, to have breakfast, dress hurriedly and reach the Palace by 10 o'clock. There saw the King, the Count of Flanders and the Princes assembled for the mournful ceremony. We have here the King of Portugal, Prince of Wales with Arthur,[1] Prince of Prussia, Archduke Joseph, George of Saxony, Nemours, Joinville, Aumale, Nicholas Nassau, William of Baden, Hohenzollern. We all proceeded to the room in which the King's body was deposited, where an address was made over the coffin in very bad French by the late King's German Chaplain, Mr. Becker. We then entered the Royal carriages, and an immense procession was formed, all being on foot excepting ourselves. I drove with George of Saxony, William of Baden and the Duke de Nemours. The day was dreary and bitter cold. We did not reach Laeken, where the body was interred, till 3 o'clock, having left the Palace at 12. Crowds of people were in the streets, their demeanour was most regular and respectful. The troops and National Guards lined the streets. Another oration was made in a temporary Chapel and then the body was deposited without much ceremony in the Roman Catholic Church of Laeken, next to the remains of the late Queen. This part of the ceremony was not edifying—all the rest was most satisfactory. We got back at 4.30. *17th.*—Went to the Palace in uniform, the King having sent Monsieur Rogiers in the morning to present the Belgian Order to me, and I wore it

[1] Duke of Connaught.

as a matter of course. From the Palace all the Royal personages drove together to the Palais de la Nation, or Legislative Chamber, to be ready to receive their Majesties. The Queen and her Court came first in three carriages and six horses, all in state, extremely handsome, and the livery much like our English State liveries. She was received with great enthusiasm, both in the streets and in the body of the Chamber. We entered with her. The King followed soon after with the Count of Flanders, having entered Brussels from Laeken on horseback. The enthusiasm was very great in the streets and within the Chamber a perfect ovation awaited him. He did the thing remarkably well, read a most excellent speech after having taken the oath to the Constitution which was received by repeated acclamations and by the frequent rising of the Assembly. This delivered, he retired, and we shortly followed with the Queen, and proceeded in procession to the Palace. The streets were crowded, the enthusiasm very great. At the Palace he appeared on the Balcony and was received with renewed cheers. His son and daughter were with him, and the Queen having withdrawn, he spoke to the Foreign Princes, and addressed some most affectionate words when I took leave of him, as did also the Queen. I went to lunch with Bertie, where all the Foreign Princes were assembled. The National Guards arrived, and expressed a desire to be allowed to defile before the King. This, after considerable delay, was granted, and the whole body passed with deafening cheers, the King being on the Balcony. 1865 ÆT. 46

On Easter Monday, April 2, 1866, the Duke was in Brighton for a Volunteer Review. 'A very handsome luncheon was laid out at the Pavilion, but it was quite painful for me to enter the old Palace where I had spent so many happy days, under such altered circumstances. I can only look on it as a sad desecration.' 1866 ÆT. 47

Diary, April 3.—Went with the Prince of Wales and Edward Weimar by special train to Weybridge to attend

1866 Æt. 47

Funeral of Queen Marie Amélie

the funeral of Queen Marie Amélie.[1] The body is deposited in a private vault, belonging to an old Roman Catholic gentleman and family of the name of Taylor, being close to Weybridge. We had to wait nearly an hour before the procession arrived from Claremont, a distance of 6 miles. All the Orleans Family were, of course, present including the King of the Belgians and a large concourse of Frenchmen, including Guizot, Thiers, and many distinguished men. The ceremony in the small Chapel was very short, the coffin was then carried into the vault and another short service followed, which concluded the religious portion.

[1] Queen of the French, wife of King Louis Philippe.

CHAPTER XI

MARRIAGE OF PRINCESS MARY—HANOVER'S FATE—TRAVELS AT HOME AND ABROAD

1866–69

Betrothal and marriage of the Princess Mary—The Queen's promise to attend the ceremony—Austria and Prussia at war—The fate of Hanover—The battle of Königgrätz—The Duke and the policy of non-intervention—Annexation of Hanover announced—Meeting between His Royal Highness and the King of Hanover—What the war involved for the Duke's family—The Order of the Elephant—Walmer Castle revisited—Birth of Princess Victoria Mary of Teck—Paris Exhibition—Death of the Emperor Maximilian—Arrival of the Sultan of Turkey—Ceremonies in his honour—A gift of Arab horses—Baptism of Princess May—Funeral of the Landgrave of Hesse—To Preston to open the new Town Hall—To Ireland with the Prince and Princess of Wales—The fall of Magdala—The Newspaper Press Fund—Her Majesty and the pipers of the Scots Fusilier Guards—Illness of Princess May—Offer of colonelcy-in-chief of 60th Rifles—Fiftieth birthday

1866
Æt. 47

FROM the gloom in which the last chapter closed it is pleasant to turn for a moment to brighter scenes. The year 1866 was an important one for the House of Cambridge, for it witnessed the engagement and marriage of the Duke's younger sister, Princess Mary Adelaide. In the autumn of 1864 the Prince and Princess of Wales had met, at the Court of the King of Hanover, Prince Teck, the only son of Duke Alexander of Wurtemberg by his marriage with Claudine Comtesse de Rhédey. So favourable an impression did the young prince make upon their Royal Highnesses, that he was invited to pay a visit to Sandringham in the following December.

Betrothal and marriage of the Princess Mary

He came to England in due course, and immediately won all hearts by his amiable qualities and engaging manners.

1866 Æt. 47 In the following year he was again in England, but it was not till 1866 that he met Princess Mary Adelaide, at a dinner given at St. James's Palace by the Duchess of Cambridge to the Duc and Duchesse d'Aumale. Princess Mary tells the story of the acquaintance which ripened so quickly into love. 'The wooing was but a short affair. Francis only arrived in England on the 6th of March, and we met for the first time on the 7th at St. James's. One month's acquaintance settled the question, and on the 6th of April he proposed in Kew Gardens and was accepted.' The Duchess of Cambridge was delighted with the engagement. 'I am happy to say,' she wrote, 'I feel sure of dear Mary's happiness. Prince Teck seems to be a most excellent young man, good-principled, most religious, perfect manners —in short, I call Mary a most fortunate creature to have found such a husband.' Nor was the satisfaction of the Duke of Cambridge less. 'On arrival at Kew this afternoon [April 6] heard that Teck had been and had proposed to dear Mary, had been accepted, and both Mary and Mama were quite delighted. The young couple looked and seemed supremely happy. It is a great event in my family, and I must say I think it is a *very happy one*. He is a charming person and likely to make dear Mary an excellent husband. It is a real pleasure to see Mary so thoroughly satisfied at the resolution come to.'

In accordance with the wishes of Princess Mary, it was arranged that the wedding should take place at Kew, and the Queen, in spite of her bitter sorrow, promised to grace with her presence the marriage of her dearly loved cousin. 'As you all wish me to be present at dear Mary's marriage,' she wrote from Osborne, in a letter to the Duke on May 2, 'and though painful as every wedding is to my poor widowed broken heart—as it is to be at Kew, and I conclude not in evening dress, I would certainly comply with your wish. But I shall not be back till the 13th June from Scotland,

H.R.H. PRINCESS MARY, DUCHESS OF TECK.

(From a Water-colour Drawing by James R. Swinton at Marlborough House.)

where I am anxious to have *full three weeks' rest* and complete change of air after much fatigue and anxiety this winter and spring, and would therefore wish it to be after the 13th—any day after would suit me. I would not object to be down in the body of the Church and to take part in any luncheon or breakfast at which the family only were present, but if it is intended to have a large breakfast for everyone, I should wish to go away before that.' 1866 ÆT. 47

Subsequently, however, the Queen altered her arrangements, and the wedding took place on June 12. Writing four days later to the Duke of Cambridge, Her Majesty said: 'Though it was very trying for me, it *was* a satisfaction to witness dear Mary's marriage, which I trust was the beginning of many years of happiness. Nothing could be better managed and arranged than everything was at Kew, and it did Col. Purves[1] the greatest credit.' The Duke's account of the wedding is as follows:

June 12.—This was the day fixed for dear Mary's wedding. I took Teck down to Kew with me. The wedding took place in Kew Church at 12, the Queen and all her family being present. The arrangements were simple and excellent and gave general satisfaction. After the ceremony, which was performed by the Archbishop of Canterbury,[2] we had a luncheon at Kew Cottage for the Queen and the Members of the Family in the Library, and for the guests and suites in one of the Tents. The Queen left again at 3, and Mary with Teck started for Ashridge[3] to spend the honeymoon, after which we all returned to London.

War between Austria and Prussia

The bright happiness of Princess Mary's honeymoon was destined to be of short duration. On the Continent the torch of war was smouldering, and needed but a breath to fan it into sudden flame. 'The news from the Continent

[1] Equerry to the Duchess of Cambridge.
[2] Dr. Charles Thomas Longley.
[3] Lent by Lord Brownlow (2nd Earl) and Lady Marian Alford.

1866 Æt. 47

is most warlike,' the Duke wrote on May 4; 'matters look quite as bad between Austria and Italy as they do between Austria and Prussia.' The outlook, indeed, was not one that the Duke could view with the mental detachment of the philosophic spectator, for the events which were hurrying to their climax were pregnant with far-reaching consequences for the Cambridge family. Austria had done a bad day's work for herself when she sided with Prussia in wresting the Duchies from Denmark, and retribution was now near at hand. Not only had she shared with Prussia the odium to which this act of spoliation gave rise, but she had, at the bidding of Bismarck's cunning diplomacy, unconsciously helped to lay the foundation stone of Prussia's new hegemony in Germany. Bismarck saw clearly that there was room for one Great Power in Germany and one alone, and he was fully determined that Prussia should be that Power. But Bismarck had no intention of precipitating a conflict with Austria before all his preparations were made; accordingly a temporary understanding was reached by the Convention of Gastein in 1865, by which Lauenburg went to Prussia for a monetary payment and the administration of Holstein and Schleswig was confided respectively to Austria and Prussia. Austria, however, was for making the Duchies into a separate State, and to this end she supported the claims of the Duke of Augustenburg. To this Prussia, who had marked the Duchies out for her own, was of course vehemently opposed. The matter was referred to the Frankfort Diet, which decided in favour of the Duke. This decision was the beginning of the end. The final struggle could no longer be delayed, and Prussia in the spring of 1866 approached King Victor Emmanuel, with whom she entered into an alliance by the terms of which Italy was to attack Austria so soon as Prussia fired the first shot. The blow fell in June, on the 7th of which month the Prussians entered Holstein and won

a bloodless victory, inasmuch as the Austrians retired without making any resistance. 1866 ÆT. 47

In the stern conflict that followed and was so soon over we are, of course, in this memoir most concerned with the fate of Hanover. 'The Diet of Frankfort yesterday voted for the mobilisation of the Federal Army,' the Duke of Cambridge wrote on June 15. 'This Prussia looks upon as a Declaration of War, which is now certain to break out at once. It is a fearful state of things for Germany, and we are on the eve of great events.' In the voting on this fateful June 14, Hanover finally and irrevocably threw in her lot with Austria. Prussia immediately presented an ultimatum to Hanover, requiring her to observe an unarmed neutrality, and as Hanover rejected the demand, the Prussians hastily crossed the frontier and occupied the capital. Hanover's fate

Diary, June 16.—The Prussians have occupied Hanover, Hesse, and Saxony. The Sovereigns of those countries have retired from their Capitals and are endeavouring to collect their Armies. 18*th*.—The King of Hanover has been driven from Hanover with his Army by the Prussians, who have also taken Cassel and occupied Dresden and the greater part of Saxony. This I hold to be a great loss to the Austrians, who are either quite unprepared or very slow as usual! 25*th*.—The news from Germany is very serious. The King of Hanover is most probably surrounded and cut off. From Italy we hear that a great battle was fought yesterday between the Austrians, under the Archduke Albrecht, and the Italians under the King and La Marmora at Custozza between Verona and Peschiera, in which the Italians were entirely defeated and driven back. This is a most important and very fortunate event. 30*th*.—The accounts from Bohemia are bad, the Austrians being worsted in every encounter, the Prussians pushing forward towards Prague. Nothing more known or heard of the King of Hanover. *July* 1.—The news from abroad very bad. The Prussians evidently victorious in their encounters

1866 ÆT. 47

with the Austrians. The Austrian Corps seem to be being beaten and destroyed in detail. The Austrian Army is retiring on its position between Josephstadt and Königgrätz. The Hanoverians have laid down their arms. The King and Crown Prince are gone to a Château of the Duke of Saxe-Altenburg. *4th.*—Accounts have reached me to-day of a great battle fought near Königgrätz yesterday between the whole Prussian and Austrian Armies, in which the eight Prussian Corps took part and five Austrian Corps, besides the Saxons. Benedek [1] was entirely defeated by the King of Prussia, who commanded in person. The Needle Musket of the Prussians, it appears, is so offensive, that all the gallantry of the Austrians cannot stand up against it. The slaughter seems to have been terrific, and the losses on both sides fearful. The battle lasted eight hours. Prince Frederick Charles first engaged the enemy with the first Army, but could not make way against her, but in the afternoon the Crown Prince of Prussia came up with the second Army and took the Austrians on flank and rear, which decided the fate of the day. What is now to happen God only knows, but Germany, as it used to be in my time, seems to be lost. *5th.*—To-day we have received the astounding news that Austria has offered to cede Venice to the Emperor of the French, and has requested the Emperor Napoleon to mediate peace between himself and his adversaries. The Emperor Napoleon has at once entered upon the task, with what results nobody can as yet tell. *7th.*—The Armistice is said to have been accepted by Prussia and Italy on certain conditions. *11th.*—The complete overthrow of the Austrians in the battle of Sadowa is more and more confirmed, and the accounts from all quarters are most painful. I am afraid that Lord Derby [2] and Lord Stanley [3] are going to carry the principle of non-intervention to a very far extent. I deplore this more than words can say. The position of affairs is fearful to contemplate and the line taken by England is painful in the

The battle of Königgrätz

[1] General Benedek, Commander-in-Chief of the Austrian army.
[2] First Lord of the Treasury.
[3] Foreign Secretary.

extreme. It amounts to a total abstention from all interest in the affairs of Europe. *17th.*—The Prussians have defeated the Bavarians and 8th Federal Corps near Aschaffenburg, and have since entered Frankfort and Darmstadt. *26th.*—An armistice of five days has been agreed upon between the contending Powers, which will probably lead to peace. The exclusion of Austria from the German Confederation is to be the main condition of peace, and the cession of Venetia. The Emperor Napoleon acts as Mediator. It is a very sad and melancholy business. *31st.*—Have heard to-day that it is the intention to annex the whole of Hanover, Hesse-Cassel and Nassau, but not Saxony. My heart bleeds for poor Hanover and to think that this ancient country, the Cradle of my family, should thus be wantonly destroyed, and that nobody should interpose in its favour. 1866 ÆT. 47

August 8.—The news from abroad is very bad. It is now decided that Hanover, Hesse and Nassau are to be annexed to Prussia. Nothing can exceed the deep feeling of sorrow and regret to the Hanoverian people, but I don't suppose anything will save them. *17th.*—Received letter from Osborne stating that the only chance for Hanover consisted in the King's abdication in favour of his son, and asking me to use my influence in that sense. I returned to London instead of proceeding to Scotland. *18th.*—It appears that the annexation of Hanover has been publicly announced to the Prussian Chambers. In that case I fear it is too late to do anything. I, however, telegraphed to the King of Hanover asking him to give me a *rendezvous* somewhere, if anything could still be done. *19th.*—Have received a telegraphic message from the King of Hanover, stating that he would meet me at Ratisbon. I have therefore decided to start for that place to-morrow. *20th.*—Left London at 8.30 p.m. for Dover for Ratisbon. I fear that little good can now be done, as the annexation of Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau and Frankfort has been laid officially before the Prussian Chambers, but it is well I should have an opportunity of talking matters over with the poor King, who, though I fear he has committed grave faults, is still to be greatly pitied. *23rd.*— . . . Arrived

1866 Æt. 47

at Ratisbon at 2.45. No tidings of the King or from Bloomfield.[1] I really was in blank despair and telegraphed again to Vienna. *24th.*—This morning after hearing nothing, and having nearly decided upon at once returning to England, at last, after being dressed, an A.D.C. of the King of Hanover, Captain von Klenk, appeared stating that His Majesty would arrive at 2.45 and had been delayed from having been quite overpowered by the sad tidings which had reached him of the annexation of the Kingdom of Hanover, and the expulsion of the Dynasty. This can easily be understood. . . . At 2.30 we went to the Station to meet the King who arrived at 2.45 with the Crown Prince, Count Pleten and his A.D.C. Count Weidel. We drove together to the Inn, and I then had a lengthened conversation with him on the questions of the day. His position is a most sad one, and unfortunately he still seems to delude himself into thinking that matters are not so bad as they are. He left again at 10.30 p.m., and I took night mail to Frankfort.

Meeting with the King of Hanover

After a flying visit to Rumpenheim the Duke returned to London.

It has been stated that the clash of arms on the Continent and the political and dynastic changes which ensued were of deep import to the House of Cambridge. To Princess Mary the war meant a rude disturbance of the halcyon days of the honeymoon among the roses of Ashridge, for, as Prince Teck had only left the Austrian service in March, he deemed it his duty to offer his services to the Emperor in the event of an outbreak of hostilities. 'We were but too soon awakened from our bright dream of life to its terrible reality,' Princess Mary wrote in a letter to the Hon. Mrs. Dalrymple,[2] 'by having to get ready and start at two days' notice to enable Francis to join the Army. After dropping me at Ludwigsburg, once the summer

[1] H.B.M.'s Ambassador at Vienna from 1860 to 1871.

[2] *A Memoir of H.R.H. Princess Mary Adelaide, Duchess of Teck*, by C. Kinloch Cooke, vol. 1, chap. xiii.

1866
ÆT. 47

residence of my Aunt, the late Princess Royal and Queen of Wurtemberg, where he left me under the care of his Aunt, the Queen Mother of Wurtemberg, Francis went on to Vienna on the 1st of July, and reached it just as the disastrous news of the defeat of Königgrätz had arrived. After a week of cruel uncertainty for him and terrible anxiety for me, during which he vainly sought for an audience, and never even succeeded in seeing any of the military authorities, so great was the general confusion, he gave it up in despair and came back to me, and a week later we proceeded together to Vienna. . . . For five weeks we were at the Hôtel Munsch, Francis in hourly expectation of an appointment, which he only succeeded in obtaining just before the peace was signed, after which, on the 20th of August, we moved to my father-in-law's Villa at Liesing, an hour's drive from Vienna.' Nor was the Grand Duchess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz in happier case. 'I was quite suddenly called away, together with the Grand Duke,' she says in a letter from Strelitz dated July 20, 'to return to this poor country where war and horrors of all kind are being committed. The seat of War is not close to us, but we feel the effects of it, and have to bear the degradation of being drawn into it. . . . Poor Mama is much shaken by all she has had to undergo and suffer for *our* sakes! Both her poor daughters in divided camps, though our hearts are naturally all in the one camp of right and justice. . . . Poor Hanover! What is to become of our old dynasty?' Finally it is only necessary to add the words of the Duchess of Cambridge herself: 'Alas! All the dearest countries that my heart loved best have been *stolen* (I can't give it another name). . . . Hanover, which is the cradle of our English family, Hesse is mine, and Nassau was my dearest own Mother's; so you may judge of my feelings at this moment.' [September 6, 1866.]

1867 Æt. 47 *Diary, January* 11, 1867.—Saw Kielmansegge who had just arrived from Hanover. He gives a deplorable account of the state of things there. *March* 26.—My forty-eighth Æt. 48 birthday. How time passes and how things change in this world; every year this appears to me more and more marked. The King of Denmark with the Queen [1] (of Denmark) came to breakfast with me, the King bringing me his Order of the Elephant as his birthday present, which is a great compliment and pleasure to me. *April* 10.—Went to St. Bartholomew's Hospital to be present when the Prince of Wales took up his charge as President of that Hospital. 19*th*.—Matters look very warlike between Germany and France on the subject of Luxemburg—the Emperor being determined that the Prussian Garrison should be withdrawn from the Fortress, and the Prussians are positively refusing to evacuate it. 20*th*.—Left London for Walmer Castle. It is a most quaint old place and it is thirty-two years ago since I slept last at the Castle, as the guest of the great Duke of Wellington on my way to the Continent. Now I am actually living in the great Duke's room, which is left just as it was in his time, excepting that the bed has been removed. The furniture is simplicity itself.

The Order of the Elephant

At Walmer Castle

Throughout the diary in the early part of the year there are numerous references, full of tender anxiety and loving solicitude, to the health of the Princess of Wales, who was suffering from some acute form of rheumatism.

May 10.—Went to Marlborough House to attend the Christening of the little Princess which took place in Alix's room and in her presence, she, poor dear child, having had her bed brought in for the occasion. It is a charming little child and very pretty, and is called Louise Victoria Alexandra Dagmar. The Archbishop of Canterbury [2] performed the Ceremony. After congratulating Alix we all lunched together, the whole family, including dear Mama, who seemed quite well, and Arthur and Gleichen. The Household were present, also Doctors Farre, Paget and

[1] They were staying at Marlborough House.
[2] Dr. Charles Thomas Longley.

Hewitt. *20th.*—Attended the ceremony at Kensington Gore of the Queen laying the foundation stone of the Central Hall. It was a very fine sight, about 7,000 people. The Queen looked well and was most gracious, and the public very enthusiastic. I only wish the Queen would oftener consent to appear in public, as it is so very much desired by everybody and is so necessary and essential in these times. *22nd.*—This is the Derby Day. Mr. Chaplin's Hermit won to the surprise of everybody, he having been at 100 to 1 at starting. Hastings has lost nearly £100,000, Chaplin has won £140,000 and with J. Calthorpe and Captain Machell they are said between them to have won £230,000, which is really too awful to contemplate! *26th.*—Drove down to Kensington and was in the house when dear Mary was confined at one minute before twelve o'clock. Everything passed off wonderfully well and we have to be most grateful for God's mercy to us in this respect. The little girl is a charming, healthy little child with powerful lungs. Drs. Farre and Hills attended dear Mary, and there were present in the room with her, Augusta, the Duchess of Aumale, Lady Elizabeth Adeane, and Francis. Lady Macclesfield and myself were in another room.

1867 ÆT. 48

Birth of Princess Victoria Mary of Teck

June 1.—Went to War Office to be present at the unveiling of the late Lord Herbert's Statue in front of that office looking towards Pall Mall. A large number of persons, friends of the late Lord Herbert, were present. Mr. Gladstone made me an address. The Statue by Foley was then unveiled, and I then answered Mr. Gladstone's speech, standing in the Court of the War Office.

The Paris Exhibition

Late in June the Duke left London with the Prince of Wales to visit the Paris Exhibition, and on the day after his arrival he dined at the Tuileries, 'Bertie and Arthur being of the party, Cowley and many English—it being Cowley's last official dinner.'

June 30.—Received the Prince Imperial with Bertie at the Embassy, a very nice lad and looking quite well again—he has excellent manners. After he left I had luncheon there and then went to the Tuileries to see the

1867 Æt. 48 State entrance of the Sultan with the Emperor; a very fine sight, handsome equipages, troops lined the streets and looked remarkably well. We saw them descend the Stairs on leaving. The Sultan, a very good looking man, rather stout, with an enormous retinue. *July* 1.—Accompanied the Prince of Wales to the Sultan. He received us most graciously and I was agreeably surprised at his general appearance, which was very much more favourable than that of his brother, the late Sultan. His two nephews and son were present at the interview, which lasted about a quarter of an hour. At 1.30 I accompanied the Prince to the Palais de l'Industrie, where the ceremonial for distributing the Prizes took place. The Emperor and Empress's procession quite magnificent, the Sultan's equally fine. The interior of the building occupied by about 17,000 persons, a splendid sight. The Crown Prince of Prussia arrived expressly for the occasion, and all the Princes and Princesses in Paris . . . were present and had seats assigned to them. Monsieur Rouher [1] read an address, replied to by the Emperor, who then distributed the awards. The music was fine. After proceeding in procession around the building we all dispersed and returned to our respective homes. . . . There heard of the shooting of the Emperor Maximilian of Mexico on the 19th June—a most terrible event, and produced a profound sensation. *2nd.*—The death of Maximilian seems to be confirmed and the Review for to-morrow as well as the Imperial Fêtes are consequently put off.

London, July 5.—The Queen has decided not to hold the Review in the Park arranged for to-morrow, in consequence of the death of Maximilian. *6th.*—Drove down to Ham to attend poor Purves's [2] funeral who was buried in the Cemetery there. It was a very sad duty to perform, for I had a very great esteem and regard for my poor departed friend, who was a most devoted servant of my

[1] Minister of State.

[2] Colonel Purves died of lockjaw. The carriage in which the Duchess of Cambridge was driving, attended by Colonel Purves, was overturned, and while the Duchess escaped without injury, her Equerry sustained severe injuries to his leg, and subsequently lockjaw supervened.

family. 12*th*.—Went down to Dover with the Prince of Wales and Viceroy to meet the Sultan, who arrived from Boulogne at eleven in the French Steam Yacht *La Reine Hortense*. An English Fleet of six sail, chiefly Ironclads, under Admiral Warden,[1] was lying in the Roads and saluted the Sultan as he neared the shores, a French Ironclad Squadron escorting the Sultan over and saluting equally in this fashion as they parted from the Yacht. . . . At 12.30 started again for London, the Prince, Viceroy, myself and Fuad Pasha in the saloon carriage with the Sultan, who is a man of good appearance and excellent manners, but unfortunately speaks nothing but Turkish. Reached Charing Cross at 2.30 and drove in State carriages through the Horse Guards and up the Mall to Buckingham Palace, the whole way lined with troops, crowds of people, and the reception very enthusiastic. The *cortège* looked very handsome, thirteen State carriages and pairs, most of them open. I drove with the Sultan, Bertie and Fuad Pasha, and His Majesty seemed most gratified with his reception. . . . Dined at the United Service Club, when I was in the Chair at a great dinner of 120 people, given to the Viceroy, who seemed much gratified. 16*th*.—The morning was not favourable for the intended excursion to Woolwich and the Crystal Palace. I left London at 12.30 accompanied by Colonels Curzon and Johnson to receive the Sultan on the Common, where I had assembled 9 Batteries of Artillery, horsed. As we neared Woolwich it came on to rain most heavily, and the troops were thoroughly drenched. The Sultan and Prince of Wales arrived at 2.30 in a dreadful downpour of rain. I received them on the Common and took them down the line of Batteries, during which period we were wetted through. We went direct to the Mess House and the whole of the Batteries ranked past the Sultan who was standing at an open window. We had then a very handsome luncheon, the Sultan and a party of ten in the large Mess Room, another party of ten, Princes, etc., in another room, and the suites, etc. in another room to the

1867
ÆT. 48

Arrival of the Sultan of Turkey

[1] Rear-Admiral Frederick Warden, C.B., in command of the Channel Squadron.

1867 Æt. 48 number of 70. Everything very properly and nicely done. . . . At 5.30 I accompanied the Sultan and Prince, with a large suite, to the Crystal Palace, where we were first driven around the Garden, when the whole of the waters played; then had dinner at the building, and then attended a portion of a Concert in the Central transept, which was really magnificent both in sound and in appearance. About 26,000 persons were present, after which there was a display of the finest fireworks I ever saw, ending with an illumination of the playing fountains. The success was complete. The reception of the Sultan by the public magnificent, and the evening with beautiful moonshine quite lovely.

17th.—Up soon after six, and at eight started with the Sultan's and Prince's train from the Queen's private Station at Nine Elms for Gosport, which we reached at 10.30. The day was dry, but a heavy gale blowing. We at once proceeded, under a salute, on board the *Osborne*, had breakfast, and then proceeded to Spithead, again under a salute, where the Fleet, forty-nine sail of various sizes, was at anchor . . . in two magnificent lines; as we neared it the Fleet saluted and manned yards—a most imposing sight. We steamed through the Fleet, followed by a large number of accompanying steamers, in one of which, the *Helicon*, was the Viceroy of Egypt, towards Osborne, where the Queen, on board the *Victoria and Albert*, was awaiting our arrival. After a heavy squall of rain had passed over we went on board the *Victoria and Albert*, followed by the Viceroy, when the Queen received the Sultan most graciously. We then again steamed through the Fleet, which saluted and manned the rigging, and then anchored for luncheon off Ryde. It was blowing so hard that it was thought safer the Fleet should not weigh, so signal was made to engage at anchor, and the effect of this was grand in the extreme. After a continuous bombardment for some time, the action was suspended, and the gun boats were sent in to attack the land batteries. Before luncheon the Queen invested the Sultan with the Order of the Garter, at which he appeared greatly gratified. The Queen and Sultan with a party of ten lunched in the deck cabin, the remainder

Naval review

below. We then returned to Osborne through the Fleet, which again saluted. The Queen took leave of the Sultan, etc. . . . and went on shore in the *Alberta*, and the Sultan returned to Portsmouth, passing through the Fleet in the Royal Yacht, and landed about seven o'clock at Clarence Yard. I started at once by special train for London and reached home about 9.30, very tired, but much gratified. 18*th*.—Went to State Ball given to Sultan at Guildhall, when H.M. received the freedom of the City. . . . I danced once with the Duchesse d'Aosta. 1867 ÆT. 48

After leaving the City the Duke went with the Prince of Wales to the Islington Hall, where an enormous Ball was given to the Belgian Volunteers, who were then paying a visit to England. 'This also was a fine sight, the Hall was handsomely decorated and about six or seven thousand persons present—a very mixed company.'

July 19.—At eight the Sultan came to dine with me, accompanied by his son and two nephews, Fuad Pasha, Ezzim Effendi, Musurus,[1] Raglan and Hood, and I had to meet him, the Prince of Wales and Sir W. Knollys, Fritz,[2] Louis of Hesse, Edward Weimar, Francis,[3] Derby, Hartington, de Grey, Stratford de Redcliffe, Strathnairn, Disraeli, Cardigan, Lucan, Bentinck, Burgoyne, Pennefather, Codrington, Scarlett, Paulet, Hope-Grant, Forster, Peel, Packington, Jim—thirty-five in all. It was an extremely handsome dinner, the servants in State Liveries, and he seemed much gratified and pleased. Some of the Suite came after dinner and joined us as we went upstairs. . . . At 10.45 the Sultan left and I followed him to the Great Ball at the India Office, a most magnificent Fête, which was admirably managed and arranged. The Ball Room, a large Courtyard temporarily roofed over, was particularly splendid, and the supper room was all that could be wished for. Nothing would have marred the success of the evening, but the melancholy seizure of

[1] The Turkish Ambassador.
[2] Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. [3] Prince Teck.

1867 Æt. 48 Madame Musurus [1] at supper, which I witnessed, being close to her, and which, alas! ended fatally in a few hours afterwards. No doubt it was caused by a diseased heart and the fatigues consequent upon these numerous fêtes, added to a rapid ascent of a long staircase to reach the supper-room.

At the Review which was held in honour of the Sultan on Wimbledon Common on the following day the Duke was in command of the troops. The Belgian Volunteers were present and headed the march past. 'The crowds broke through, and we had some difficulty in returning to Lord Spencer's tents where a magnificent entertainment was prepared for the Sultan, who seemed altogether much gratified and pleased. As it rained very heavily at last I excused myself to the Spencers, changed my things at the Robin Hood, and came direct home.'

July 22.— . . . At 1.30 the Sultan came to pay me a visit to take leave and thank me for my attentions during his stay. He was most gracious. Was accompanied by Fuad Pasha. . . . Dined at Stafford House to meet the Sultan, where there was afterwards an Italian Concert—altogether a handsome fête. At eleven we went to the Horticultural Gardens, where there was a large assembly of people to see the Sultan. The Garden was to a certain degree illuminated with lamps, but the weather, which was extremely bad, spoilt this to a certain extent. Blue lights were also burnt. The crowd was great, and the company very mixed. We had supper in the Gallery, and got home by one, very tired. *23rd.*—Went to Buckingham Palace at 10.15 with Curzon to accompany the Sultan to Dover. The morning was broken and showery and it rained as we passed down the Mall, lined with Troops as on his arrival, to Charing Cross Station. There were, however, large masses of people to see him go, and they were very enthusiastic. We reached Dover at 1.30 and the Sultan went for a short time to the Hotel, doubtful whether or not to go,

[1] Wife of the Turkish Ambassador.

the weather being fine but a strong breeze blowing. However, he decided upon starting, and embarked at 2 in the *Osborne*, the Ironclad Fleet being in the Roads to escort him to Calais. There was a very cordial leave taking on board the Yacht, after which they sailed at once, and we stood on the pier watching their progress for some time. The passage across was, I hear, very satisfactory and good, nobody being ill. 1867 ÆT. 48

The Sultan's thanks to the Duke

In remembrance of his visit to England the Sultan sent over four fine Arab horses as a present to the Duke of Cambridge, and this gift was afterwards followed by an autograph letter to His Royal Highness. The Turkish Ambassador, in forwarding the letter, appended the following translation :

Lettre Autographe de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan à Son Altesse Royale le Duc de Cambridge

C'est avec un plaisir infini que j'ai la lettre que Votre Altesse Royale a bien voulu M'écrire le 20 Septembre dernier à l'occasion des chevaux qui Lui ont été offerts de Ma part. Ai-je besoin de dire à Votre Altesse Royale combien je suis sensible à tout ce qu'Elle Me dit de si aimable dans Sa lettre et à la manière pleine de distinction dont Elle veut bien accueillir ce faible présent ? Votre Altesse ne peut pas douter que de Mon côté je n'oublierai jamais les précieuses marques de sympathie que j'ai été si heureux de rencontrer lors de Mon récent voyage à Londres, auprès de la glorieuse Dynastie dont Votre Altesse est un des plus illustres ornements, et que rien ne M'est plus agréable que de saisir toute occasion qui s'offre pour en témoigner ma vive gratitude.

En M'empressant donc de Vous en réitérer ici l'expression, Je prie en même temps Votre Altesse de croire toujours à l'inaltérable estime et à l'affection que je professe pour Sa personne, et aux vœux que Je ne cesse de former pour la prospérité de Sa Famille.

Sur ce Je prie Dieu qu'il Vous ait en Sa Sainte Garde.

Donné le 8 Chaban 1984.

1867 ÆT. 48

Christening of Princess May

July 27.—Went to Kensington Palace to be present at the Christening of Mary's little girl, who was called Mary, when I stood as one of the Sponsors.[1] The Archbishop [2] performed the Ceremony.

About the middle of August the Duke left London for Germany, and a month later, when he was in Frankfort, he saw the King of Prussia arrive from Berlin at the West End Halle. 'He had no reception at all, the feeling against the Prussians being very strong and not disguised.' From Frankfort His Royal Highness went on to Rumpenheim to be present at the funeral of the Landgrave of Hesse, the eldest brother of the Duchess of Cambridge.

Funeral of the Landgrave of Hesse

September 27.—This was the day fixed for the funeral of Uncle William. The day was cold, but a lovely autumnal day without any wind. The body of the late Landgrave had arrived under Holks' charge during the night, and was deposited in front of the house, in a large and handsome coffin. The ceremony commenced at ten in the morning in the presence of forty-two family personages and the suites of those present, besides several Hessian Officers. The entire family was there, with the only exception of the King of Denmark and his son Waldemar and the poor Duchess of Nassau, who was not well enough to travel. Besides the family the Grand Duchess Constantine with son and daughter, Louis and Alexander of Hesse, the Landgrave of Hesse-Philippsthal and his brother, and Prince Bentheim were present. The Duke of Nassau with his son came from Frankfort, and William Lippe arrived overnight. The address was spoken by Herr Löhr, Willi Hesse's tutor, and was an admirable one, in excellent taste and good in substance. The whole thing was most solemn and imposing, and could be only considered as most gratifying to the relatives and friends of the deceased. Poor dear

[1] The other sponsors were the Queen, represented by Princess Mary, the Duchess of Cambridge, the Grand Duchess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, and the Prince of Wales.

[2] Of Canterbury (Dr. Longley).

old man ! he was a worthy good man and a fine specimen of the old school. He was ever kind and good to me and I had a deep attachment and regard for him. May God have mercy on his soul ! 1867 ÆT. 48

October saw the Duke of Cambridge back in England.

Opening of the new Town Hall at Preston

October 2.—Went to Preston by special train. At Preston was received by the Mayor and, accompanied by him in his carriage, there being a long procession of other carriages, I proceeded through the streets, densely crowded, and the people all in excellent humour, to the new Town Hall, where an address was presented to me by the Mayor and Corporation to which I replied, and then declared the Hall to be opened. It is an extremely handsome building, the Architect being Mr. Scott,[1] and it has cost nearly £70,000. . . . We then went in the same procession to the Parks to be opened for the public, nicely laid out, and a great advantage to the Town. Here another address was presented to me, to which I again replied, and having walked all through them, whilst they were crowded with people, we returned in procession to the Town Hall, in the lower room of which, to be used as the Exchange, a large luncheon for 450 persons was prepared. We sat down to it at four, healths were drunk and I made a speech. This part of the proceedings was much hurried, as we had to return by special train. It was a satisfactory day, as so much loyalty and good feeling was displayed by the people who crowded into the Town.

November 5.—Inkerman Day, a glorious recollection of the past, though combined with many sad reflections of the friends and good soldiers that were lost to us on that occasion. How time flies ! It was thirteen years ago. *29th.*—Drove to Kensington to see Mary and admire her baby, certainly a lovely child.

March 9, 1868.—Dined at Willis's Rooms, where I took the Chair at the Dinner given by the Officers of Artillery and Engineers to their two Field Marshals, Sir Hugh Rose and Sir John Burgoyne. Unfortunately the latter was 1868

[1] Afterwards Sir Gilbert Scott, R.A.

1868 Æt. 48 Æt. 49

taken ill and could not come, but the former was present and the dinner went off most satisfactorily. About two hundred sat down to dinner. *26th.*—My birthday. I received a great many kind and affectionate letters of congratulation from a number of dear relatives and friends and certainly cannot but feel gratified at the kindness and affection evinced towards me from so many different quarters.

With the Prince and Princess of Wales in Ireland

April 14.—Left London with the Prince and Princess of Wales and Franz[1] for Ireland. Entered Kingstown Harbour next morning under a salute of the Ironclad Fleet of four ships, under Admiral Warden, the *Minotaur*, *Achilles*, *Duke of Wellington* and *Defence*. . . . Landed under salutes, drove up by road to Dublin, crowds all the way up, and all most enthusiastic. Drove with Bertie, Alix and Franz. The escort was given by the 10th Hussars. Reached the Castle at 1.30. Great enthusiasm. . . . Lunched at the Castle with the Abercorns who had met us with their Court and Lord Strathnairn. Afterwards drove out to the Chief Secretary's Lodge, where I am most admirably put up.[2]

On the 16th and 17th the Duke went to the Punchestown Races, and in the evening of the 17th he attended the Lord Mayor's Ball at the Mansion House in uniform.

April 18.—This was the Installation Day. . . . Went to the Castle at 1.30, lunched there and then dressed for the great Ceremony of the day. At three we all started in procession from the Castle, the Lord Lieutenant and Lady Abercorn preceding the Prince and Princess of Wales, who were in their State carriage opened, my State carriage following, and the rest in ten carriages following mine. The streets were lined by the troops. Dense masses of the people thronged all the streets, balconies and housetops. The greatest enthusiasm prevailed throughout, not a dissentient voice was heard. We got to St. Patrick's by

[1] The Duke of Teck.

[2] By Lord Mayo (6th Earl), Chief Secretary for Ireland, and afterwards Governor-General of India.

about 3.45, then robed, and then entered the Church in procession, a magnificent sight, all admirably arranged and not a single hitch or confusion of any sort or kind. We were sixteen Knights present out of twenty-two. The music was very fine and not too long. The Procession again escorted the Prince and Princess out of the Church. Returned to the Castle in the same order of procession in which we went there, accompanied by the same crowds and the same enthusiasm. We got back at 5.30 after one of the very greatest successes in point of pageantry and enthusiasm I ever experienced or was present at anywhere. In short thus far the entire visit has been an ovation. 1868 Æt. 49

The programme of festivities included a great review in Phœnix Park, and a visit to Trinity College, where His Royal Highness, together with the Prince of Wales, was made LL.D., and where there were orations in honour of Mr. Burke, whose statue in front of Trinity College was unveiled by the Prince's command 'amid the deafening acclamations of the Students and people outside.'

The fall of Magdala

London, April 26.—Heard of the telegraphic news of the fall of Magdala after Theodore had been defeated outside on Good Friday, had then given up the Captives unscathed and had stood an assault himself in Magdala on Easter Monday. Theodore himself was killed in this assault, and 14,000 Abyssinians had laid down their arms—only a few men wounded, none killed. It is an enormous victory, and comes most opportunely. *27th.*—Attended the new Royal Commission of the Patriotic Fund, of which I have been named President. *May* 4.—Dined with the Gentlemen at Arms at their Mess at St. James's, and a very good dinner, and well-conducted establishment. Lord Exeter, the present Captain of the Corps, presided. *13th.*—Went to the laying of the foundation stone of St. Thomas's Hospital by the Queen, which ceremony was performed this morning at 11.30, just over Westminster Bridge and between that and Lambeth. The Queen and suite went in open carriages, Ascot Liveries, herself having *six* horses

1868 Æt. 49 in her carriage, an arrangement I never saw before. We were in uniform. The day was fine, the route lined by Cavalry, the reception good. The large tent, containing about 5,000 people, under which the ceremony took place, was very handsomely decorated. The Queen looked well and performed her part of the ceremony well. *22nd.*—Have heard that the House of Commons have unanimously thrown out the Bill for pulling down my house. This is to me a great relief and a great triumph, and I trust may definitely settle the point, as they have added a recommendation for opening Hamilton Place. *June* 6.—Presided at Willis's Rooms at a public dinner for the Newspaper Press Fund.

The Newspaper Press Fund

It has been stated before that the Duke was singularly happy in pleading the cause of any deserving charity. Words which he used on this occasion were so just, so true, and so striking, that they are still quoted year by year in the report presented at each recurring festival dinner of the Newspaper Press Fund. 'The Press,' he said, 'is a valuable, an important, and an essential institution. I believe no country could get on without it. On the other hand, the position which it assumes requires great prudence, great caution, great forbearance, and a great amount of talent; and the question is, how these great requirements can be best attained. There is no doubt that the best mode of strengthening a profession or a service is to give it security; and what is that but imparting the conviction that those who are connected with it will never be altogether forgotten! That those who have shown great ability, great vigour of intellect, great physical power of endurance, when the time of sickness or old age comes, may feel that they are not a burden to themselves or a cause of distress and anxiety to their friends. It is with a view of meeting this emergency, which may arise in the case of any man in any profession, that this Newspaper Press

Fund has been so judiciously, so wisely, and so properly established. It is my anxious hope and sincere belief that an institution established on so large a basis, and with such generous motives, will receive the measure of support to which it is fully and fairly entitled from all well-wishers of the country.' 1868 ÆT. 49

(*From the Queen*)

Balmoral, June 11.

I hear that the feeling respecting the abolition of the Pipers in the Scotch Fusilier Guards is very much divided, and I think it would be well to reconsider the subject, and not decide on it in a hurry. Any distinctive mark in a Regiment should, I think, be encouraged and kept up. I myself should much regret the abolition of the Pipers in the S. F. Guards, but I would not have refused my consent if there was a *unanimous* feeling in favour of it. If they were to be retained, I think great care should be taken in the selection of the Piper Major—on whom so much would depend, and I think they should be more handsomely dressed.

The Queen's unfailing solicitude for the comfort and welfare of her 'gallant troops' is well illustrated in a letter which she wrote to the Duke on the morrow of the Great Volunteer Review held at Windsor on June 20. 'Nothing,' she wrote, 'could have been more successful in every way than the Volunteer Review, but I am much afraid some of the men suffered from the fearful heat and also from want of food and also drink, as I heard to-day. Would you kindly enquire if the men *did* suffer?'

Illness of Princess May

In the month of July the Duke, with the whole of His Royal Highness's family, was thrown into a state of great anxiety by the serious illness of Princess May. 'She was seized on July 18 with sickness,' wrote Princess Mary in a letter to the Hon. Mrs. Dalrymple,[1] 'for which proper

[1] *A Memoir of H.R.H. Princess Mary Adelaide, Duchess of Teck*, by C. Kinloch Cooke, vol. 2, chap. xiv.

1868 ÆT. 49 remedies were at once and apparently very effectually applied, for on the Tuesday following May was out again for half an hour in the cool of the day. Whether she caught a slight chill, or the effluvia from the pond in Kensington Gardens, which was in a very unhealthy state, and which the nursery windows face, affected her, I know not, but that very night she had an alarming relapse, and all the next day lay in a state of collapse. Dr. Farre was called in, and towards evening, thank God, the treatment began to tell upon the child, and the attack to yield to it. From that time she mended steadily, although slowly, and on the 4th of August her Grandmama very wisely insisted in carrying her off to Kew, to be away from the pond, and out nearly all day in the garden, under the shade of the old chestnut tree.' The Queen was kept informed of the little patient's progress by the Duke of Cambridge, and her letters to the Duke in reply show a keen anxiety and a quick sympathy with the parents and relatives of Princess May.

Diary, October 3.—Went to Kensington where, at four o'clock, Mary's little boy[1] was christened by Mr. Harrison.[2] He is a large and beautiful child and behaved very well. I was one of the sponsors. Mama, Augusta, Adolphus, Duchess of Inverness, Prince and Princess Philip of Wurtemberg, and a few others were present. All passed off very well. 26*th.*—Took leave of Alfred who sails in the *Galatea* on Saturday or Monday next on his lengthened voyage to the Cape, Australia, New Zealand, China, Japan, Ceylon and India.

Carriage accident

Diary, November 29.—On my way to dinner in Queen Street, the horse in my brougham suddenly, in Hertford Street, ran away, and I was only enabled to jump out in

[1] The little Prince was christened Adolphus Charles Alexander Albert Edward George Philip Louis Ladislaus.

[2] Rev. William Harrison, M.A., Hon. Canon of St. Albans, and some time Rector of Great Birch, Essex. Chaplain, in the first instance, to Adolphus Frederick, 1st Duke of Cambridge, and afterwards to H.R.H.'s widow, Augusta, Duchess of Cambridge.

Curzon Street, when the horse suddenly turned round. 1868
He then started afresh, and was brought up to a standstill Æt. 49
in Lansdowne Passage, which he could not enter. Neither myself, nor Brown, the Coachman, nor the horse was hurt, but the brougham was much damaged in the under part. It was a frightful thing altogether, but by God's mercy we escaped without injury.

January 7, 1869.—Went to Curzon House to a wedding 1869
breakfast given on the marriage of Lord Hamilton [1] with Lady Mary Curzon, Lord Howe's youngest daughter. The bride and bridegroom looked very happy, and it was a most cheerful party. Quantities of lovely presents and a very large and handsome luncheon. I had to give the health of the young couple. Afterwards saw them start for Apethorpe to spend their honeymoon.

(*From the Queen*)

Windsor Castle, March 6.

I have thought you might like to have the Colonelcy-in-Chief of the 60th Rifles. If so, it would give me great pleasure to appoint you to it.

Diary, March 26.—Good Friday and at the same time Æt. 50
my 50th birthday, a very serious matter for reflection, though I have everything to be most grateful for. Still years are creeping on fast, and one feels that one is getting older. 31*st*.—Went to Windsor for the baptism of Christian and Helena's second little boy,[2] to whom I stand as one of the sponsors. The Archbishop of Canterbury [3] performed the service very impressively in the Private Chapel, the Queen, Louise, Arthur and Leopold, besides Monsieur de Fabrile, the Saxon Minister, standing in the place of several absent Sponsors, in addition to myself. Mary and Francis are prevented from coming, as their little girl May is supposed to have a very slight attack of

[1] Second and present Duke of Abercorn, eldest son of the 2nd Marquis, afterwards created Duke of Abercorn.

[2] Prince Albert John Charles Frederick Alfred George of Schleswig-Holstein, G.C.B., G.C.V.O., Captain in Prussian Hussars of the Guard.

[3] Dr. Archibald Campbell Tait.

1869 Æt. 50

scarlatina. After the ceremony, which was only attended by the Court and a few officials from London, lunched with the Queen in the Oak Room, and then went down to Frogmore with Helena and Christian to remain there till the morrow. *April* 21.—Dined at the Cannon Street Station Hotel, where I was in the Chair for the Anniversary Dinner of the Hospital for Diseases of the Chest. The peculiarity about this dinner was our having Ladies present as well as Gentlemen. *July* 21.—Presided (at Woolwich) at a Mess Dinner given in honour of Arthur on his leaving for Canada. He made an excellent speech in reply to my giving his health. About 200 sat down to dinner. *Brighton, October* 5.—Walked to the Pavilion and went over the poor old rooms there, and also the old stables, the latter quite altered and transformed into a large Music Hall. It was sad to see the changes that had taken place. *December* 31.— . . . Thus ends 1869. To me the commencement of another year has always more of sorrow than of rejoicing about it, and yet I feel that I have much to be thankful for, and I try to be grateful for my many mercies and my many blessings.

CHAPTER XII

FRANCE'S DARK HOUR

1870–1871

Crowded hours—The Queen and the death of General Grey—Loss of the *Captain*—Outbreak of the Franco-German war—Defeat of Marshal MacMahon—The news in Paris—Further German successes—Sedan—The Third Republic—Meeting with the Empress Eugénie at Chislehurst—Surrender of Metz—Russia and the Black Sea—Death of Lord Frederick Paulet—Bombardment of Paris begins—The last sortie—Capitulation of the city—Mr. Trevelyan's motion in the House of Commons—Terms of Peace—'Really fearful'—Prussians enter Paris—The Red Republicans—Marriage of Princess Louise—Visit to Emperor Napoleon at Chislehurst—Queen's birthday wishes—Opening of the Albert Hall—The second siege of Paris—Accident to Prince Arthur—Paris and the Communists—His Royal Highness leaves for Germany—Fortnight's military operations at Aldershot—Removal of Horse Guards to War Office—'A sad change'—General Forster's resignation of the post of Military Secretary

1870
Æt. 50

Busy days

THE days of the Duke of Cambridge were now fully occupied with military and other duties, and his diaries in consequence consist mainly of the record of tours of inspection, reviews, and busy labours in the cause of charity, with occasional hours snatched for the relaxation that he needed so much. His energy, indeed, was prodigious, and no programme seems to have been too long or too arduous for his immense activity. The recital of one or two days, chosen at random, will show how full was his life, and how unsparing he was of himself. In June 1870 he was visiting the Prince of Wales at Cooper's Hill, Englefield Green, for Ascot week, and on one of the days the Prince gave a great ball, which was kept up with much spirit, and the Duke did not get to bed till three o'clock. Yet of the day following

1870 Æt. 50 he writes: 'Up early and went to London by the 8.50 train, riding to the station and getting to Gloucester House for breakfast at ten. At 10.45 drove with Johnson to Woolwich for the Public Day at the Academy; everything went off well and after making the Cadets a speech I returned to London at 3.30. Went to St. James's to see dearest Augusta[1] and Fritz,[2] who arrived this morning from Germany looking very well. Returned[3] by train from London at 4.45, and rode out to join the rest of the party at a picnic on Virginia Water, the evening lovely after some showers. We went on the Water both before and after dinner and did not get home till nearly one o'clock, when I was very tired.' Again, to take another day: 'To Aldershot by 8.10 train with Hope Grant, Egerton, Gambier, and Clifford. Day charming after a little rain. Saw the Troops on Case Common and had a very pretty Field Day under Scarlett. Several new Regiments were seen by me for the first time, and I was well pleased with them. Returned to town by 1.25 train and got home by three. At 4.15 drove Macdonald down to Chiswick for Prince of Wales's second breakfast. Afternoon charming, place looked lovely. Back by seven. Dined with Chichester-Fortescue and Lady Waldegrave; and afterwards to a State Concert at Buckingham Palace, home by two.' With the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War, however, the character of the diary changes, and the progress of the great struggle is noted day by day with the keenest interest. Excerpts from the portion of the diary which deals with the war will be given very fully in this chapter, in so far as they show the Duke's careful observation, and reveal his sympathies; but before the fateful outbreak of hostilities is reached, it is necessary to deal with one or two other matters.

[1] Grand Duchess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz.
[2] Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. [Sister and brother-in-law.]
[3] To Englefield Green.

Diary, March 10.—Went to Kensington to be present at the christening of Mary's second boy,[1] a fine little fellow : only the family and a few immediate belongings. *April* 1.—Took the Chair at United Service Institution at a Lecture given by Captain Brackenbury on the Campaign in Hanover. It was very ably done and most interesting. 1870 Æt. 50 Æt. 51

(*From the Queen*)

Windsor Castle, April 3.

I was sure you would grieve for poor General Grey, so old and true a Friend, whose experience was of the greatest value. His days, however, were numbered, and for some time I felt sure he would be unable to go on. Still, so fearful a catastrophe we did *not* apprehend. In many many many ways he is a very serious loss, and to lose one friend after another is most trying and painful, and makes one tremble for those who remain. But a Higher Power over-rules all for the best, and we may be sure that He will assist and support me in my weary and arduous task.

In the course of a tour of inspection in the month of April His Royal Highness visited Portsmouth, and went on board the ill-fated *Captain*. 'Steamed up to Dockyard,' he writes on April 21 : 'landed there and accompanied the Admiral, Sir James Hope, and Admiral Key, the Superintendent of the Yard, on board the *Captain*, the new iron-clad turret ship built by Captain Cowper Coles and Mr. Laird of Birkenhead, and just commissioned by Captain Burgoyne, who showed us all over her. She is an extraordinary looking vessel, but I prefer the *Monarch*, Captain Commerell, which vessel lies close to her. The latter vessel has the high freeboard, the *Captain* the low freeboard. The accommodation aboard the *Monarch* is very preferable.' Before five months had passed, the *Captain* had gone down with all hands. 'Heard this morning [September 10] of

Loss of the *Captain*

[1] Prince Francis Joseph Leopold Frederick, born January 9 at Kensington Palace.

1870 Æt. 51 the loss of H.M. Ship *Captain* with all hands, in a gale in the Bay of Biscay. She was cruising with the Fleet and must have gone down in the night, the ships of the Squadron not having seen her disappear. She was the model of the low freeboard turret ship, commanded by Captain Burgoyne, the son of Sir John Burgoyne. Captain Cowper Coles was himself on board. It is a fearful calamity! Five hundred officers and men have gone down in her. There were sons of Mr. Childers, Lord Northbrook, Lady Herbert of Lea, and Lady Huntly on board. I confess I did not like the looks of the ship when I went over her at Portsmouth in the spring.'

Diary, June 3.—Drove to Marlborough House, to congratulate my little godson George on his birthday, a most charming little fellow.

July 14.—The news from abroad is most serious, and war is on the eve of breaking out between Germany and France. All preparations going on with great rapidity on both sides. The extent of such a contest it is impossible to conceive. 18*th.*—Went to House of Lords, when Granville [1] announced the declaration of war by France to Prussia. 25*th.*—A secret draft of a treaty was published to-day in *The Times* proposing for France to take Belgium, and Prussia Holland, said to have originated with the Emperor; it has caused an immense sensation in England. *August* 1.—No further news from the Armies, which are still concentrating and organising. The loss of time seems fatal to the French; the Emperor is gone to Metz and the King of Prussia has left for Mayence. 3*rd.*—Heard this afternoon that the French had made an attack on Saarbrück with success and had taken up a position close to the town. 5*th.*—Heard to-day of the Prussians having attacked and defeated a Division of Marshal MacMahon's Corps at Wissembourg, having evidently taken them by surprise. The Prussians were under the Crown Prince. 6*th.*—Heard this

War

[1] The Earl of Clarendon died on June 26, and was succeeded as Foreign Secretary by Earl Granville.

B. West, pinx.]

THE CHILDREN OF KING GEORGE III.

Prince Ernest Augustus (Duke of Cumberland,) Prince Augustus Frederick (Duke of Sussex), Prince Adolphus Frederick (Duke of Cambridge), Princess Augusta Sophia, Princess Elizabeth (Landgravine of Hesse), Princess Mary (Duchess of Gloucester).

(From a Mezzotint by V. Green of the Painting by B. West.)

evening after dinner, by telegraph, of the defeat of Marshal MacMahon's Corps by the Crown Prince of Prussia between Wörth and Hagenau, with heavy loss on both sides, the Prussians continuing their advance after the battle. *7th.*— We were startled by the news that the Crown Prince had attacked Marshal MacMahon with overwhelming forces at Wörth yesterday, and had entirely defeated him with the loss of 5,000 men, 10,000 prisoners, 30 guns, 6 mitrailleuses, &c. These reports were fully confirmed in the course of the day. It is an astounding event, and nobody can understand it. MacMahon seems to have had only his Corps and a small portion of de Failly's to support him, and is not supposed to have had more than about 40,000 men, while the Crown Prince had in his Corps about 120,000. London was greatly excited all day, and the news from Paris was depressing for the Emperor and France. *9th.*— Paris is in a most fearfully excited state and consternation is extreme, and all seem to have lost their heads. The fall of the poor Emperor seems imminent. I am so glad, though, that this good fortune should have fallen to the lot of the Crown Prince, a high-minded and generous man and a good soldier in every sense of the word. *10th.*—The accounts from Paris are most alarming. The Chambers have met, and are greatly excited. The violence of some Members of the Left is prodigious! MacMahon has returned to Nancy. General Frossard was attacked also on Saturday evening at Saarbrück, and driven back with very heavy loss on Metz. He seems equally to have been unsupported. The whole thing is incredible, and the Generalship on the part of the French seems horrible, whilst the gallantry of the troops was sublime. The Germans behaved splendidly, and are well manœuvred, but their losses, too, are fearfully heavy. The French seem to be in great want of provisions, which is incredible. *13th.*— It is said to-day that the French have evacuated Nancy, and are retiring on Châlons. The Emperor remains with the Army, but Marshal Bazaine has assumed the Chief Command, General Changarnier is with him. Marshal Le Bœuf has resigned. Things are more calm at Paris, and

1870
ÆT. 51

The battle of Wörth

1870 Æt. 51

German successes before Metz

another great battle seems imminent. 16*th*.—A great battle was fought on Sunday afternoon before Metz with heavy loss on both sides and resulting in checking the retirement of the French Army under Bazaine to Verdun and Châlons, an operation they commenced on Sunday. Things look bad for the French. 18*th*.—Another battle was fought on Tuesday, resulting in a success to the German Armies. The battle seems to have been a most serious one and to have entirely cut off the French Army from Paris and Calais, and in fact driven it back into Metz. The loss again fearful and a desperate effort made on both sides to attain the object in view, the French to press through, the Germans to prevent this movement. The German Cavalry seem to have played a great part in this operation. How the French Army is now to extricate itself from Metz is more than I can say. The question is what will now happen ? The Crown Prince, it is said, is nearing Châlons, where MacMahon has got about 80,000 men of various kinds. 31*st*.—We are all most anxious to hear news from France. MacMahon has evacuated Châlons, and is marching on Sedan, viâ Rheims. He is endeavouring to make a junction with Bazaine. It seems to me an extremely false move, and nothing but disaster can result from it. It is said that a battle is imminent, as the Crown Prince is in pursuit and the Prussians around Metz will bar the way in that direction.

September 2.—Heard to-day of the great battles going on between MacMahon and the Prussian Corps now rapidly surrounding him. There seems to have been an action on Tuesday, ending in MacMahon being driven back towards Sedan, he endeavouring to move towards Metz. The battle was renewed on Wednesday and on Thursday again, and the last accounts from the King of Prussia state that the French were entirely beaten, and surrounded and driven into Sedan. Marshal Bazaine made an effort on the 26th and 27th to force his way out of Metz, but after very severe fighting was also driven back into Metz with very severe loss on both sides. MacMahon's movement has thus completely failed, as I anticipated and as was to be

easily seen. *3rd.*—Heard to-day from Mr. Cardwell[1] of the entire defeat of the French under MacMahon, and their being shut up in Sedan. He had hardly left me when the astounding telegram reached me that the whole Army of MacMahon, who was grievously wounded, had capitulated under the order of General de Wimpffen, the Emperor having surrendered himself as a prisoner to the King of Prussia. It is so overwhelming that one hardly knows how to realise it, but it is true. As yet Paris seems still determined to hold out, but it has hardly yet realised the overwhelming news and blow. The Prince Imperial seems not to be taken with his father. *8th.*—The Republic in Paris has been constituted, and seems determined not to make peace, but to defend Paris. The Prussians are marching on Paris. General Trochu is placed at the head of the Government, as Governor of Paris, with Messieurs Arago, Jules Favre, Gambetta, and other Republicans to support him. The Prince Imperial has reached England in safety and is at Hastings. Marshal MacMahon is not dead, but recovering from his severe wound in the thigh. *10th.*—The Prussians are pressing on Paris. Laon has surrendered, the fortress has been blown up, either by accident or design, and many lives were lost. *25th.*—All hopes of peace are at an end, as the Provisional Government will not agree to the terms of Armistice of the Prussians. Thiers has gone to Petersburg, which I don't think he likes.

1870
ÆT. 51

The catastrophe at Sedan

The Third Republic

October 13.—Went to Chislehurst. At the Station had my Phæton, and drove up to Camden House, a place belonging to a Mr. Stock, where the Empress of the French is now residing. Asked to see her, and was at once admitted and most graciously received. I found her much altered in appearance and naturally much depressed. She entered very fully into all that has happened and is happening, and was very unreserved in all she said. I felt most deeply for her. I was with her over an hour, and the conversation which passed was most interesting. *19th.*—Matters before Paris continue in the same state, and peace, though it cannot be very distant, one could imagine, seems still far from

Meeting with the Empress of the French

[1] War Secretary.

1870 Æt. 51 accomplishment, as neither side will advance towards the views of the other. *29th.*—Yesterday evening I heard of the surrender of Metz, the whole of Bazaine's Army of 173,000 were laying down their arms, and becoming prisoners of war, with 3 Marshals of France and 6,000 Officers! This is a most awful catastrophe for France, whose position now seems to be entirely hopeless. *30th.*—Heard more of the details of the surrender of Metz, and it becomes more and more extraordinary to my mind how such an Army should have surrendered without making a much more decisive effort to cut its way out, which one would suppose must have succeeded, had it been vigorously attempted.

Surrender of Metz

November 4.—There are prospects of an Armistice, Monsieur Thiers being now at Versailles to negotiate with Count Bismarck on the subject. *7th.*—The negotiations for an Armistice have entirely failed and Monsieur Thiers has left the Prussian Headquarters. *14th.*—Everybody is full of an arrogant demand made by Russia to annul some of the most important stipulations of the Treaty of 1856, as regards the neutralisation of the Black Sea.[1] *17th.*—Granville has written a very firm and most excellent despatch in reply to the Russian demands. It is very strong in the position it takes up. The state of affairs is extremely precarious, and it must now be seen what line Prussia is disposed to take, and whether she backs up Russia. Mr. Odo Russell[2] is gone to Versailles on a mission in this sense. *18th.*—Went to open the two new blocks of buildings for the Working Classes, erected off Ebury Street by Sir Sydney Waterlow and a Company. They are admirably built, and seem very perfect. After going over them, presided at a large luncheon in a Marquee in the grounds. I was supported by the Lord Mayor, Shaftesbury, Ebury, &c.

Russia and the Black Sea

[1] By the Treaty of Paris the Black Sea was neutralised; its waters and its ports thrown open to the mercantile marine of every nation were formally and in perpetuity interdicted to the flag of war, either of the Powers possessing its coasts or of any other Power.

[2] Third son of Major-General Lord George William Russell, G.C.B., and brother of the 9th Duke of Bedford. H.B.M.'s *Attaché* at Paris, afterwards Ambassador to the Court of Berlin. Created Baron Ampthill, 1881.

26th.—The Russian answer is come to Granville's despatch. It is said to be conciliatory in language, but to adhere in every respect to the position originally taken up.[1] 1870 ÆT. 51

Late in the month the Duke made a short stay at Sandringham: 'The new house seems quite charming, a very great improvement on the old one, and nicely furnished. It is warm and very comfortable, and feels quite dry.'

December 2.—There has been a great sortie from Paris on Tuesday, when Generals Trochu and Ducrot headed the troops, and succeeded in driving the Germans back and holding a position which they had carried about five miles outside of Paris. The losses are very heavy on both sides and both parties claim a victory. *3rd.*—The Prussians attacked the French yesterday in the position they had taken up, and are said to have driven them back upon Paris. The army of the Loire has also had a defeat by the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg's Army. *31st.*—The year ends very sadly, and a very melancholy year it has been in many respects, and the new one opens under a very serious aspect. May God grant that under His blessing the prospect may yet mend.

January 1, 1871.—The year begins sadly and anxiously. I am myself still far from well and begin the year alone, and moreover in bed. Political matters are in a most serious and precarious state, and the future is most dreary. Added to this my poor dear old friend, Lord Frederick Paulet,[2] died at eleven o'clock to-day, as the result of the serious operation he had undergone. It is too sad—too melancholy. . . . *4th.*—The bombardment of the Forts around Paris has commenced, and with apparent success 1871

[1] As a way out of the difficulty, Bismarck suggested the holding in London of a conference of the Powers who had signed the Treaty of 1856. The suggestion was accepted, the conference assembled in January 1871, and eventually agreed to a Treaty abrogating the clause for the neutralisation of the Black Sea.

[2] Lieut.-General Lord Frederick Paulet, C.B., fifth son of the 13th Marquis of Winchester. Comptroller of the Household and Equerry to her late Royal Highness Augusta, Duchess of Cambridge.

1871 Æt. 51 for the Prussians. *6th.*—There has been a severe engagement in the North of France near Arras, at a place called Bapaume, between General Faidherbe and the Army of Manteuffel under General Goeben. Both sides claim the victory, but the French have certainly not been able to advance upon Paris. The bombardment continues. *11th.*—Matters look very bad for the French. The Bombardment of Paris has commenced. The Army of the Loire thoroughly defeated, and Le Mans taken by the Germans. The accounts of the French continue very bad, and their chances seem quite hopeless. *20th.*—General Chanzy has been entirely defeated, and Le Mans has been occupied by the Germans. Bourbaki is equally defeated by General Werder near Belfort. A sortie has again been made in force from Paris, but without any results. The object of the French, it is said, was Versailles, but this has entirely failed. *21st.*—Saw Mr. Gladstone, who came to discuss the question of removal of the Horse Guards to Pall Mall, which he and Cardwell advocate, but to which I object. *23rd.*—A great sortie has taken place on the 19th from Paris, but has been repulsed. It is supposed that this will have been the last effort of the Garrison to get out. Have heard that Jules Favre was at Versailles to treat for the Capitulation of Paris. *29th.*—The Capitulation of Paris has been signed, and is to be carried out at once with an armistice of three weeks throughout France, both by land and sea. A Constituent Assembly is at once to be called together in France, to decide upon Peace or War, the meeting to be at Bordeaux. I cannot but think that Peace will now be made, and I most sincerely hope so. *31st.*—The armistice of Paris, and its Capitulation, has been finally agreed to. The revictualling of that great city will be a matter of great difficulty.

Capitulation of Paris

February 2.—The terms of Peace, as stated from Berlin, are fearfully exacting I think. The whole of Alsace and Lorraine, twenty Ironclad Ships, Pondicherry in the East Indies, and four hundred millions sterling as an indemnity. It is thought that these cannot be really intended. The ships and the demand for Pondicherry imply an insult to

England. *4th.*—The extravagant terms of Peace, or rather demands for peace, are denied from Versailles. There are differences regarding the elections between the Delegate Government at Bordeaux and the Government at Paris, and M. Gambetta is very violent. *21st.*—Mr. Trevelyan brought forward his motion to-day in the shape of an attack upon myself, and my administration. Nothing could be more satisfactory than the debate, which was entirely in my favour, and in which many friends spoke out well, nobody more so than Bernal Osborne. The Division gave a majority of 118 against Mr. Trevelyan, the numbers being 202 against 83, so I hope this disagreeable question is now disposed of.[1] *26th.*—Heard this Afternoon that Peace was to be signed to-day at Versailles. The terms are said to be

1871
ÆT. 51

[1] Mr. Trevelyan's motion, so far as it concerned the Duke of Cambridge, was to the effect that in the opinion of the House no scheme for military reorganisation could be regarded as complete which did not alter the tenure of the Command-in-Chief in such a manner as to enable the Secretary of State for War to avail himself freely of the best administrative talent and the most recent military experience from time to time existing in the British Army. Mr. Trevelyan, while admitting that the present occupant of the post of Commander-in-Chief had always done his very best for the Army and his country, insisted that the permanent holding of the office was not to the advantage of the Army or the country. After the motion had been seconded by Mr. Anderson, the feeling of the House speedily became clear. Speaker after speaker rose to defend the Duke. Lord Eustace Cecil gave the opinion that if the officers of the Army were polled, they would say by an immense majority that the Duke of Cambridge was the best man who could be found for the office of Commander-in-Chief. Until a more efficient man was discovered, he thought Mr. Trevelyan had better cease to say anything about the merits or demerits of the present holder of the office. Viscount Bury, Colonel North, and others followed on the same side. Mr. Osborne, for whose defence the Duke has a special word of thanks, slyly suggested that Mr. Trevelyan was only repeating a speech that he had made on several previous occasions when he was 'starring' it in the provinces. In blunt language he described the motion as one as to whether the Duke was to be turned out of the Horse Guards. Of His Royal Highness he said: 'I believe a more honest and conscientious man, and a man better fitted for the post, never presided at the Horse Guards.' Turning with scorn to Mr. Trevelyan, he said: 'He endeavours to raise a cloud around the Horse Guards; he talks of purchase, Army agents, flogging, marking with the letter "D," and contagious diseases. He puts all these together, and he endeavours to saddle the Duke of Cambridge with this *olla podrida*. What has the Duke to do with it? I protest against making the Commander-in-Chief the object of all this abuse.'

1871 Æt. 51

fearfully hard. The cession of Alsace and Lorraine, including Metz, but excluding Belfort, £200,000,000 as an indemnity for the war, and the entrance of the Prussians into Paris. I think these terms are really fearful. *27th.*—

Peace at last

Peace was agreed upon at Versailles yesterday, and has now only to be ratified by the Assembly at Bordeaux. Everybody thinks the terms fearfully hard and quite overpowering for any country. *March* 1.—The treaty of Peace has been ratified at Bordeaux. The Prussians, 30,000 strong, entered Paris to-day without any opposition or confusion, after having been reviewed by the Emperor William at Longchamps. They are confined to the quarter of the Champs Elysées up to the Place de la Concorde. *2nd.*—Everything quiet at Paris, thank God. The National Assembly have ratified the treaty of Peace by an overwhelming majority. *3rd.*—Paris was evacuated by the German Army this morning, and all passed off without accident, I rejoice to say. *19th.*—News arrived to-day of the rising of the Red Republicans in Paris, in the districts of Montmartre and Belleville, against the Government and National Assembly. They seized and shot two Generals in a most brutal manner. The troops have fraternised with the National Guard and people of disorder, and Vinoy with the Government and such troops as he could get to go with him have retired to Versailles.

Marriage of the Princess Louise and the Marquis of Lorne

Windsor, March 21.—At twelve assembled in full dress for the marriage of Louise and Lorne. Drove in procession to St. George's Chapel, the Queen and bride following in another procession. There were Guards of Honour and Escorts; the Hill was lined with Eton boys and public. The Chapel looked bright and beautiful. The Bride and Bridegroom behaved uncommonly well, and the Queen, who gave Louise away, seemed as happy and pleased as possible. Nothing could have gone off better, or been better arranged. After the ceremony, we all signed our names to the Marriage Register. Then the Queen saw the Guests in the State Drawing Room, and then the Royalties lunched with the Queen in the Oak Room, a party of twenty-four, the Queen herself giving the health of the newly

married couple. At four they started for Claremont under a positive shower of old shoes, and through a dense crowd, all through Windsor and along the Long Walk. 1871 ÆT. 51

London, March 22.—The news from Paris continues very bad. The Reds have taken possession of the Head Quarters of the National Guards and the Place Vendôme. *23rd.*—The Emperor Napoleon having arrived at Chislehurst on Monday, I went down to-day by train from Charing Cross at 11.45, to pay him a visit. He received me most warmly and kindly, and I found him looking remarkably well, grown stout, and she also much improved in looks. He was much more cheerful than one would have expected. He talked much of all that was going on, and I was with them for over an hour. They were sadly distressed at the events at Paris, where we heard to-day that there had been a sad collision between the Reds and a demonstration of the well disposed in the Rue de la Paix, the latter having gone unarmed to attempt to force their way into the Place Vendôme, which was resisted by the Montmartre and Belleville men, who fired on the well disposed, and many were killed and wounded. Paris seems to be in a most complete state of anarchy. Meeting with the Emperor Napoleon

(*From the Queen*)

Windsor Castle, March 25.

Let me wish you many happy returns of your Birthday in health and happiness! You know how sincere my wishes for your welfare ever have been, and I pray that you may long be spared to your relations, and to your country, to which, as well as to your Sovereign, you have ever shown yourself so devoted. Æt. 52

Diary, March 29.—The Queen to-day opened the Albert Hall, going there in State. Mary, Francis and myself were invited there to meet her, and went there in uniform. The Hall looked very handsome and was very full, the music sounded well. The Queen performed her part admirably and with great dignity, and appeared in good spirits. Opening of the Albert Hall

1871 Æt. 52 Louise and Lorne accompanied her, besides all the members of the family. After an address to the Queen, read by the Prince of Wales, and her short response, and a Prayer by the Bishop of London,[1] the Queen remained in her box for a religious Cantata by Sir Michael Costa, and then retired. . . . As a speculation the Hall seems to be too large and vast, and will never answer, but the success of the ceremonial was complete.

The second Siege of Paris

April 3.—The Paris Commune made a Sortie from Paris towards Versailles yesterday. The troops of the Government went out to meet them and the Socialists were thoroughly defeated, and many of them killed. The Troops seem to have been staunch and to have fought well. Flourens and Duval, leaders of the Communists, were killed. The state of Paris itself continues to be as bad as possible, and a fearful reign of terror seems to be going on among the population.

May 1.—Mary and Francis came to breakfast with me, and we went together to the opening of the Annual International Exhibition. The Prince of Wales opened it in the Queen's name, the Count and Countess of Flanders, who have just come over, accompanied him, he going in State with the road lined with Cavalry. The day was lovely, and all went off very well. The Ceremony of presenting deputations and opening the Exhibition took place at the Glass House of the Horticultural Gardens, and we afterwards went round the rooms occupied by the various things that are exhibited. The chief objects of interest seemed to be the pictures, which are numerous and appeared good. 17*th*.—Dined at the Cambridge Asylum Dinner at Willis's Rooms. It was not a successful meeting as regards money, for we only got £500, though many people dined there we knew. 19*th*.—Dined at Willis's Rooms, in the Chair for the Annual Dinner of the Royal Engineers. At ten to the Palace for a State Ball. On arrival there was horrified to hear that Arthur had met with an accident, having fallen out of a window, leaning against a wire blind across an open window, which broke. He is much bruised and shaken,

[1] Dr. John Jackson.

but it is, thank God, nothing serious, though it might have been. *25th.*—Paris has been entered by the Versailles troops since Sunday. Fighting has been going on ever since. Paris is in flames. The Tuileries, Hôtel de Ville, parts of the Louvre and Palais Royal, and various Ministères and public buildings are all burned down. The destruction is deplorable and fearful. Petroleum has been largely used by the Communists to cause this destruction. The loss of life is said to be fearful, the destruction of property terrible. The troops are gaining ground in all directions, but poor Paris is in ruins. It is a fearful and awful catastrophe, by far the most painful event of modern times. I trust it may be a warning and lesson to all other countries. Most of the leaders of the Commune have either been shot or are taken. . . . *27th.*—Paris is said to be in a fearful state : fighting is still going on, but the town is nearly in possession of the Government troops under Marshal MacMahon. The destruction of life and property is quite awful. *June* 13.—Went down to Chislehurst and paid a visit to the poor Emperor Napoleon, whom I found looking better and in fair spirits, though he had been, and who can wonder, very ill. The Empress only came in for a moment, as she was going to London. I had a most interesting conversation with him on all the grave events that have occurred in recent times. *14th.*—To Wellington Barracks where I looked carefully at the Prussian 4 lbs. breech-loading field-gun, which had been sent over as a present by the Prussian Government. It is an interesting gun, but I much prefer our own gun and its manufacture, as far as I could judge of it in a very cursory manner. *17th.*—Drove with Arthur to the Soldiers' Daughters' Home at Hampstead, where I took the Chair at their Annual Meeting. I had to speak and others also, and all passed off well. The children, 159 in number, looked very nice, and the buildings seem quite excellent. A good many people were there, and Lord Overstone made a most amiable speech about myself in seconding a vote of thanks to me. *21st.*—Was present to-day when the Queen opened St. Thomas's Hospital. All the Members of the Royal Family were

1871 ÆT. 52

1871 Æt. 52 present. The Ceremony was short and very simple, and the buildings are very spacious. *23rd.*—Went at five to the Queen's Breakfast Party at Buckingham Palace. It was an unfortunate afternoon, very cold, and came on to rain, which spoilt very much what otherwise would have been a very pretty fête. *July* 19.—Went to Covent Garden to join my family there, it being Mario's [1] last night before retiring from the stage. He sang quite beautifully in *La Favorita*, and had a most magnificent ovation from the entire audience.

In August the Duke left London for Germany, 'taking charge of Mary and her three children as far as Rumpenheim.' Upon the arrival of the party in Brussels 'the King of the Belgians came to fetch us in his carriage and four and take us to Laeken for luncheon, the suite following in another carriage and four. Laeken is a charming place, a large Park, through which we drove to the Palace, nicely situated. Some of the Corps Diplomatique were asked to meet us. We had an excellent luncheon, almost a dinner. The King drove us home again to the Hotel, and thence we went to the Station to proceed with our journey. . . . Reached Cologne an hour after time, and the train to Frankfort had left. Mary with her children decided to remain for the night in the Belgian carriage we had to Frankfort. Clifton and I tried to get in at the Station Hotel, and also at the Hôtel du Nord. Both were full, and after having a light supper at the latter place returned to the Station, and also remained for the night in the carriage.'

Manœuvres at Aldershot

Throughout a part of September, after his return from the Continent, the Duke was in residence at the Queen's Pavilion at Aldershot, and at the close of the manœuvres which took place he writes: 'Thus ended a most successful fortnight of military operations, which I think has been creditable to the Army, and has satisfied the Foreigners

[1] Giuseppe Mario (1810–83), the famous tenor.

that it is in a far better state than they had any idea of. Of course faults were committed, but they are all correctable. Having said good-bye to our foreign visitors on the Ground, who expressed themselves as extremely grateful to us for our civility and hospitality, I had a meeting of General and Commanding Officers at the Pavilion Hut, when I expressed to them my satisfaction generally at the proceedings that had taken place, pointing out such defects as seemed most salient. Then returned to London after a most happy and interesting and successful fortnight's stay, which has done me a great deal of good in every respect.' 1871 ÆT. 52

Diary, September 23.—Went to War Office, where, alas! the dear old Horse Guards are now established. It is a sad change, and the state of discomfort from all being unfinished is something really quite dreadful, and makes me feel very unhappy.

Describing his arrival at the end of September at Raby Castle to join the Duke of Cleveland's shooting party, the Duke of Cambridge writes: 'A very fine old house. You drive actually into the Hall, and get out of the carriage with a large fire by your side.' On the following day, 'the Duke showed me the Baron's Hall, a magnificent old oak room and very ancient, in which it is said the rising of the North was decided upon. It is completely furnished as a very large Drawing Room, but not often used. After luncheon the Duchess showed me the Kitchen, which is old and curious.' The weather was most unpropitious, for it rained continuously until the day of the Duke's return to London, when it was fine. 'It was a provokingly fine day after all the very bad weather we have continuously had whilst in the North.'

October 30.—Saw poor dear old Forster,[1] who gives up

[1] General Forster.

1871 Æt. 52 office on the 1st as my Military Secretary. I lose him with the greatest regrets, and think that it is hard upon him that he should be obliged to go at such short notice. Nobody could have worked harder for and with me than he has done, and he has been in every sense a most faithful public servant, and a most loyal coadjutor to me.

CHAPTER XIII

ILLNESS OF THE PRINCE OF WALES

1871–72

Anxious letters from Sandringham—The crisis reached—The Duke obtains leave to go to Sandringham—A night of anxiety—A nation in suspense—Dawning hopes—Daily bulletins to the Duchess of Cambridge—The Princess of Wales's courage—Slow return of the Prince to health—The Duke once more at Sandringham—Received by the Prince—The great Thanksgiving service at St. Paul's—The Queen's fears—A great national success—The Prince's illness and the Republicans

1871
Æt. 52

In the last weeks of 1871 the nation learned with consternation that the Prince of Wales was lying at Sandringham dangerously ill with typhoid fever. To all the news brought a thrill of genuine sorrow and unaffected alarm, but to the Duke of Cambridge, who entertained for the Prince the warmest regard and affection, it meant of course much more.

Throughout the early days of the malady, when hope and fear were alternately in the ascendant, the Duke remained in London eagerly looking for the messages which followed one another in rapid succession. Later, when the crisis of the disease was approaching, he could no longer stand the strain of waiting, and hurried to Sandringham to be as near as possible to the patient. So large a place did the Prince's illness occupy in the Duke's thoughts, and in his diary, that the subject demands a chapter to itself.

Diary, November 23.—Heard this morning from Sandringham that the Prince of Wales has been taken very ill

1871 Æt. 52

Early stages of the illness

with typhoid fever. He had been far from well, but it has now fully declared itself. Of course this makes one feel very anxious. 24*th*.—Received anxious letters from Sandringham, the Prince being very ill, but—thank God—without any bad symptoms thus far. 25*th*.—Heard of the Prince of Wales being most seriously ill with typhoid fever. The impression is that it was taken at the party at Londesborough Lodge, Scarborough, as Chesterfield is also seriously ill with a similar fever, and all those who were of the party were more or less affected. It is a most serious matter and we are all *most* anxious. 27*th*.—The accounts from Sandringham are very alarming. Sir W. Jenner and Dr. Gull[1] are in constant attendance; the fever is excessive, the delirium severe. 28*th*.—Matters very grave at Sandringham. The Prince was very ill indeed yesterday and great anxiety felt. He is very delirious and in a high state of fever. 29*th*.—Accounts from Sandringham very anxious. I asked leave to go, but was requested not to come at present. The Queen, I rejoice to say, goes there to-day. *December* 1.—Poor dear Alix's birthday, a painful day for her, dear child! The news is not good, I grieve to say, and to-day we have heard of the death of poor Chesterfield, which took place early this morning unexpectedly, as he had been going on better and hopes were entertained for his ultimate recovery. It is too melancholy, and I am much distressed. 2*nd*.—The accounts from Sandringham this morning prove that the crisis on Thursday night was a most grave one, and that *great* danger existed for a time, but that it is happily gone over for the moment. 4*th*.—Matters seem gradually to improve, but the fever, alas, continues. 8*th*.—The accounts this morning from Sandringham are most alarming. Last night a serious crisis seems to have set in. The fever has greatly increased, with decided congestion of one lung. Alfred[2] came to see me in great distress, poor boy! He is going at once to Sandringham. The Queen is also going again with Louise. . . . Worse telegrams kept reaching

[1] Afterwards Sir William Gull.

[2] The Duke of Edinburgh.

1871
ÆT. 52

me all day, and this afternoon one from Alice [1] was so bad, that the end seemed at hand. I telegraphed for leave to go down myself, for I felt most miserable. I decided upon going down in the morning at all hazards. *9th.*—Got a telegram from Alfred during the night, saying I might come. Sent off for a special train. Got rather a better account this morning. The night was quiet and the spasm seemed to have passed away. Left by special train from Shoreditch Station at 10.45, and reached Wolferton at 1.30. Found on arrival that the day had been so far quiet. I lunched with the young people, who are all here—Louise, Beatrice, Alfred, Arthur, Leopold: then saw Alice, whom I thought looking very ill and much distressed; then dear Alix, who was wonderfully calm and self-possessed, but looking better than I had anticipated. Later on I saw the Queen, who was calm and anxious. Saw Jenner and Gull, both more hopeful. The danger is great, but it is not quite a hopeless case, they say. The anxiety of the Household, high and low, is intense. I am put up at Knollys' house. Dined with the young people. After dinner I thought Gull more anxious, and the prospect for the night seemed grave. Bertie has been frequently sick, and seems less disposed to take nourishment. We all went to bed soon after eleven, very anxious and downcast. *10th.*—This morning's account was slightly less bad, but yet the anxiety continues intense. The fever still continues to rage, and the lung seems much affected, or rather the air tubes of the lung. I went to Church for the second part of the Service, as Alix wanted to go alone into her pew for the first part. Had luncheon with the Queen and family. We remained near at hand in great anxiety all the afternoon. Frequent paroxysms of difficulty of breathing took place, and the fever still continued to rage violently. Went to bed anxious and with a heavy heart. *11th.*—The awfulness of this morning, I shall *never, never* forget as long as I live. Between six and seven the General [2] knocked at my door to say we were sent for to the house. I rushed out of bed, dressed hurriedly, and ran to the house in

The Duke goes to Sandringham

[1] Princess Alice of Hesse.

[2] General Sir William Knollys.

1871 Æt. 52

A night of anxiety

intense agony. The morning was desperately cold, and the damp rose from the snow on the ground. On arrival found all assembled near the dear patient's room : a severe paroxysm of difficulty of breathing having come on after frequent attacks of a similar character during the whole of a most restless night. All looked bewildered and overcome with grief, but the doctors behaved nobly, no flinching, no loss of courage, only intense anxiety. I went into the outer lobby, where the medicines were being prepared, and nourishment mixed, and could hear the heavy breathing of the dear Prince, but was struck by the power of his dear voice, for he continually talked wanderingly, whenever the breath was sufficient to do so. After some time of intense anxiety, the paroxysm subsided and we began again to *hope*, but our hopes were faint indeed ! However towards ten, matters seemed rather to mend, at all events to quiet down. Later, however, matters looked very bad again, as at four violent delirium again set in. Had a long interview with Jenner and Gull, who said the case was not hopeless yet : but the anxiety was great. Went back with the General at 11.30, fearing we might again be summoned. 12*th*.—The night was bad, no rest ; constant delirium and incessant talking, the air tubes greatly congested, constant difficulty of breathing, but still another twenty-four hours had been gained, and hope was thus kept up. Saw dear Alix for a few moments at tea. She was rather more hopeful. Her conduct is truly splendid—firm and yet overwhelmed with grief. Everything looks bad this evening, and the doctors are most anxious. Again went home with a heavy heart. 13*th*.—Grateful again this morning that we were allowed to pass through the night without having been called, but the night was bad, and the delirium with incessant talking continues uninterruptedly. The anxiety and grief at the house are intense, all looking forward to to-morrow with intense alarm, that being a most ominous day, the anniversary of the death of the Prince Consort. Everybody writes, everybody telegraphs, all being intent for news. The alarm and consternation and excitement in London are terrific, the loyalty displayed by the entire

nation is sublime. The newspapers write quite beautifully without any distinction of party. This was the most intensely painful day I ever spent in my life. Saw the doctors frequently; their anxiety is on the increase. Still nourishment is taken, but no abatement of the delirium, and the pulse slightly giving way. Musurus [1] came from London, sent expressly by the Sultan to make personal inquiry. Went away with the General at eleven, fully expecting he could not possibly outlive the night. 14*th*.—The ominous day has arrived and yet, praised be God, he lives, and he has slept at times during the night, with a less amount of delirium, so that again we hope. . . . The countenances at the house are certainly more cheerful, the doctors more happy. . . . Sat about all day waiting anxiously for better news. By degrees this came, and the evening bulletin was decidedly more hopeful, the breathing easier, a good deal of sleep, pulse and temperature better, the fever evidently subsiding. Went back to bed with far more cheerful thoughts. 15*th*.—The Prince has passed a quiet night with a great deal of sleep, all the symptoms are improved, and we begin to look with hope to the future. . . . Had tea with dearest Alix. She looked much happier and easier in her mind. Had a long conversation with Gull, who is now most hopeful and cheerful. God has, in His mercy, heard all our prayers, and we have indeed cause to be grateful to Him. Am going to bed comparatively happy, after these fearful days of suspense.

1871 ÆT. 52

Dawning hopes

To the Duchess of Cambridge, who was at this time in Strelitz, the Duke sent almost daily bulletins. 'Thank God,' he wrote on the 15th, 'things have taken a more favourable turn, and with God's blessing our dear Prince will be spared to us yet. But it has been a fearful crisis. No words can describe the agony we have all endured, particularly last Wednesday, when he appeared to be gradually sinking—nobody here thought it possible he could outlive the night. Happily sleep supervened, and since

Bulletins to the Duchess of Cambridge

[1] The Turkish Ambassador.

1871 Æt. 52 then he has been gradually, though very slowly, improving. We see daylight ahead, but still it is an anxious time, as he is very prostrate, but it is from the effects of the fever and not from actual fever. Things are so hopeful that the younger members of the family go to-morrow, but I propose to stay, with Alix's leave, till Monday. I have just had tea with dearest Alix. She sends you her affectionate love, as to all of you. She is, thank God, well and bears up splendidly. The Queen is most kind. She now goes to his bedside and he just recognises her, and to-day actually kissed her hand and thanked her for coming. Gull has been an angel in this dreadful trial, and deserves the blessings of the nation.' The progress of the Prince towards recovery, if slow, was now steady, and on the following Sunday the Duke of Cambridge, who had remained at Sandringham, went again to Church. 'With what different sentiments did we enter that sacred edifice the week before. Then we prayed in fear, now in hope and comparative assurance.' On the following day His Royal Highness returned to London. 'The feelings with which I have returned are indeed hopeful and joyful, and very different from those with which I went down to Sandringham, when I little thought that dear Bertie could recover from his fearful illness.' Fluctuations, of course, there were in the Prince's progress, and for some time they continued to cause no little alarm. 'Got an uncomfortable account from Sandringham to-day [December 27]. Bertie was more feverish, and had a nasty pain above his hip, and had also had some spasms in the throat. His recovery is thus retarded, and it is extremely slow.' Or again, on the following day, 'Went early to Clarence House to see Alice, who has come up to London for one night. She gives but a tolerable account of her brother.' Of the Queen's anxiety during these terrible days, when the Prince lay between death and life, we catch a glimpse in one of her letters to the Duke

of Cambridge. 'It was, if not a sad, yet at any rate a very serious Christmas to us all,' she wrote in answer to the Duke's Christmas wishes, 'from the recent weeks of terrible anxiety and also for the consciousness that dear Bertie is still in an anxious state. His recovery is so slow, and there are such fluctuations from day to day, that I must own I do not feel easy about him. Sir William Jenner is gone down there to-day, and I am going down either to-morrow or Thursday, when I shall hope to hear more about the real state of the dear patient.' 1871 ÆT. 52 The Queen's anxiety

In spite of the occasional relapses and sudden alarms which mark the period of convalescence after a ravaging disease, the Prince fought his way surely and steadily back to health, and at the beginning of February the Duke of Cambridge was able joyously to write: 'Went down to Sandringham, arriving at 9 p.m., and was received by His Royal Highness looking wonderfully well, really younger than before his great illness. He sat with me whilst I had my dinner, and talked over all the events which had happened during his illness. Nothing could be nicer or more affectionate than he was, and I really was more gratified at seeing his general condition than I could have believed possible after such an illness.' The Duke's visit lasted for four days, and on the morrow of his arrival, Saturday, February 3: 'We breakfasted together soon after ten, the Prince being up and dressed and looking wonderfully well. Edward,[1] with Gleichen,[2] Lord Hamilton,[3] and Teesdale,[4] then left for London, and the Prince rode out, for his first ride, with dearest Alix, who looks happy and well, Alfred, myself, and some of the gentlemen. He 1872

[1] Prince Edward of Weimar.

[2] Count Gleichen (Prince Victor Hohenlohe-Langenburg).

[3] Afterwards 2nd Duke of Abercorn. Groom of the Stole to the Prince of Wales.

[4] Afterwards Sir Christopher Teesdale, K.C.B. Equerry to the Prince of Wales.

1872 Æt. 52 enjoyed it much and it did not seem to hurt him. Returned at two for luncheon, and then walked out with the Prince, Alfred, and Onslow [1] for an hour. He is still rather lame, but it is not much seen and is going off. At five, to tea in Alix's room. Sir William Gull joined us, having come down from London, and we talked away till dinner-time at eight, when I dined with Bertie, Alix, and Alfred, and we remained together till 10.30. *Sunday*.— . . . Went to Church at 11.30, the Prince going also for the first time, for the Prayers only ; I remained to the end of the Service. Then at home till luncheon time, after which we all walked out together, including the Prince and Princess, and looked at the horses, dogs, etc. . . . Afterwards wrote letters, and had tea with Alix at five. Dined at eight, sat together till 10.30. *Monday*.—Breakfasted at ten, then took leave of the dear Prince and Princess, and started for London by the 10.57 from Wolferton, with Alfred, Gull, Elliot Yorke, and Fitzmaurice, arriving at St. Pancras 3.30. Went to the Horse Guards. Dined at Granville's, a full-dress dinner for the Queen's Speech, and afterwards to a party at Mr. Gladstone's.'

The great Thanksgiving Service

Although the Prince continued to make such good progress, the Queen could not contemplate without some anxiety his taking part in the great Thanksgiving Service at St. Paul's. 'I cannot deny,' Her Majesty wrote to the Duke of Cambridge the day before the Service, 'that I look with considerable dread to the dreadful fatigue of to-morrow, which I think will be too much for Bertie, and for which *I* am not feeling either very equal. I was willing and very anxious to show *my warm* acknowledgment of the loyalty and sympathy shown on this occasion, but do not—I must say—like *religion* to be made a vehicle for a great show. That is what I *so much* dislike. The *simple* Thanksgiving, more than a month ago,

[1] Rector of Sandringham.

was the right religious act, and this public show ought—in my opinion—to have been for a different object. I know many feel this very incongruous, but it seems it would have been difficult to manage anything else, and so we must hope that we shall have fine weather, and my good people will be gratified. If only no accidents occur!' Happily, on the eventful day Her Majesty's fears were not realised, as is shown by the entry in the Duke of Cambridge's diary :

February 27.—Thanksgiving Day. The morning looked fine and the day turned out beautiful for the occasion, though the wind was cold. At 11.30 drove to Buckingham Palace with my two State Carriages and three Equerries with an escort. There joined the Queen's procession, which started exactly at twelve, the Speaker leading, then the Lord Chancellor,[1] then myself, and then the Queen's procession following. It was a most glorious sight, the crowds enormous, their enthusiasm and loyalty overpowering and unbounded, the troops lining the Streets the entire way there and back. We went by Stable Yard, Pall Mall, the Strand, Temple Bar, Fleet Street and Ludgate Hill. The ceremony in the interior of the Cathedral was simple but very impressive. About 14,000 people were accommodated. The Archbishop of Canterbury[2] preached. We returned by the Holborn Viaduct and Holborn, Oxford Street, the Marble Arch, Hyde Park and Constitution Hill, and were home by 3.30. The whole thing was magnificent, and a great national success. The Queen was delighted, and the Prince got through it well, though he was fatigued at last. Lord Lucan commanded the troops, Prince Edward the Infantry, and Sir Thomas MacMahon the Cavalry. The order and regularity were splendid.

One aspect of the Prince's illness—its effect upon the republican movement in Great Britain—did not escape the attention of the Duke of Cambridge. In most countries

[1] Lord Hatherley. [2] Dr. Archibald Campbell Tait.

1872 ÆT. 52

The Prince's illness and the Republicans

governed under monarchical institutions there is an undercurrent of republicanism which comes to the surface from time to time with varying degrees of strength. In Great Britain in the early seventies the movement assumed a vigour and an audacity which it had not shown for many a long year. The continuing success of the great Transatlantic Republic and the triumphant erection of the Republic in France encouraged the opponents of the Monarchy in this country to preach their doctrines with open and redoubled vehemence, while the seed which they sowed fell on ground already prepared by social discontent and economic disaster. To the Republicans it seemed as if not only the hour had struck, but the man too had been found in the person of Sir Charles Dilke. The series of lectures on the expenses of Royalty, which the young baronet delivered throughout the North of England in the Autumn of 1871, provoked a torrent of stormy indignation and a good deal of noisy declamation of vague republican principles. When the agitation was at its height, however, the Prince of Wales fell ill, and in the national anxiety for the Prince's life and the universal rejoicing for his recovery the prophets of republicanism were forgotten, and their altars were allowed to grow cold. In his letters to his mother, the Duchess of Cambridge, the Duke makes many references to the discomfiture of the Republicans. 'The Country behaves splendidly, there is but one feeling of loyalty and attachment to the Throne. They are sound to the backbone. The Republicans say their chances are up—thank God for this. Heaven has sent us this dispensation to save us.' Or again: 'The beautiful loyal feeling of the nation has shown itself in a most striking manner. Even old George Bentinck said to me last night he was perfectly happy now, for he saw that the old loyalty of the nation existed in as marked a manner as ever and would, he thought, save the Country, in which I fully

agree with him.' Finally, after describing the Thanksgiving Service, he writes: 'It really was the most heart-stirring thing I ever witnessed and the success complete, a most perfect success. I wish, dear, you could have seen it, for it would have done your heart good to have witnessed the loyalty and good feeling of the people, and England has again shown itself a great and powerful and monarchical nation.' 1872 ÆT. 52

It only remains to be added that the Duke of Cambridge was present at the fête held 'under the auspices of Alfred and the other members of the Royal Family' at the Crystal Palace, on May 1, in celebration of the Prince's recovery, and at the concert a few days later at the Albert Hall, of which he writes: 'Went to the Albert Hall, where there was a large vocal and instrumental concert, conducted by Monsieur Gounod, with a "Te Deum" for the Prince of Wales's Recovery. The Queen, the Empress, and King of the Belgians, and all the Royal Family, attended. The music sounded well, and the Hall was quite filled.'

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